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ANECDOTES

OF AURANGZIB

(Translated into English with Notes)

AND

HISTORICAL ESSAYS

102719

BY

JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A.,

Professor, Patna College.

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WORKS BY

Professor JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A.

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„ 71 „ 26 *add note*,—Ms. N. reads " with his own troops and the watchmen (*chawki*) of the Rajah of Narwar."

„ 206 line 20 *add note*,—up to folio 132 *b* of the Persian text this officer is named 'Mahmud Beg' and thereafter 'Muhammad Beg Abakash.'

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LIFE OF AURANGZIB.

I.

EARLY LIFE.

MUHIUDDIN Muhammad Aurangzib, the third son of the Emperor Shah Jahan and his famous consort Mumtaz Mahal, was born on 24th October, 1618, at Dohad, now a town in the Panch Mahal *taluq* of the Bombay Presidency and a station on the Godra-Rutlam railway-line. The most notable incident of his boyhood was his display of cool courage when charged by an infuriated elephant, during an **elephant combat** under his father's eyes on the bank of the Jumna outside Agra Fort, (28 May, 1633). The victorious beast, after putting its rival to the flight, turned fiercely on Aurangzib, who firmly kept his horse from running away and struck the elephant on the forehead with his spear. A sweep of the brute's tusk hurled the horse on the ground; but Aurangzib leaped down from the saddle in time and again faced the elephant. Just then aid arrived, the animal ran away, and the prince was saved. The Emperor rewarded the heroic lad with his weight in gold.

On 13th December, 1634, Aurangzib, then 16 years of age, received his first appointment in the Imperial army as a commander of ten thousand cavalry (nominal rank), and next September he was sent out to learn the art of war in the campaign against Jhujhar

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Singh and his son Vikramajit, the Bundela chiefs of Urchha, who were finally extirpated at the end of the year.

From 14th July, 1636 to 28th May, 1644, Aurangzib served as **Viceroy of the Deccan,**—paying several visits to Northern India during the period to see the Emperor. This his first governorship of the Deccan, was marked by the conquest of Baglana and the final extinction of the Nizam-shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. He was married, (first to Dilras Banu, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, (8th May, 1637), and at some later but unknown date to Nawab Bai, and began to have children by them, his eldest offspring being Zebunnissa, the gifted poetess, (born 15th February, 1638).

In May, 1644 the prince gave up his duties and took to a life of retirement, as a protest against Dara Shukoh's jealous interference with his work and Shah Jahan's partiality to his eldest son. At this the Emperor was highly displeased, and at once deprived him of his governorship, estates, and allowances. For some months the prince lived at Agra in disgrace. But on 25th November, when Jahanara, the eldest and best beloved daughter of Shah Jahan, recovered from a terrible burn, her joyful father could refuse her nothing, and at her entreaty Aurangzib was restored to his rank. On 16th February, 1645, the viceroyalty of Guzerat was given to him; his vigorous rule suppressed lawlessness in the province and won rewards from the Emperor.

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From Guzerat Aurangzib was recalled two years later and **sent to Central Asia** to recover Balkh and Badakhshan, the cradle of the royal house of Timur. Leaving Kabul on 7th April, 1647, he reached Balkh on 25th May, and battled long and arduously with the fierce enemy. The bravest Rajputs shed their blood in the Van of the Mughal army in that far off soil; immense quantities of stores, provisions and treasure were wasted; but the Indian army merely held the ground on which it encamped; the hordes of Central Asia, "more numerous than ants and locusts," and all of them born horsemen,—swarmed on all sides and could not be crushed once for all. The barren and distant conquest could have been retained only at a ruinous cost. So, a truce was patched up: Nazar Muhammad Khan, the ex-king of Balkh, was sought out with as much eagerness as Sir Lepel Griffin displayed in getting hold of the late Amir Abdur Rahman, and coaxed into taking back his throne, and the Indian army beat a hurried retreat to avoid the dreaded winter of that region. Many *krores* of rupees of Indian revenue were thus wasted for absolutely no gain; the abandoned stores alone had cost several *lakhs*, and much property too had to be sacrificed by the rearguard for lack of transport.

During this campaign Aurangzib did an act which made his fame ring throughout the Islamic world. While the Mughal army was fighting desperately with the vast legions of Abdul Aziz Khan, King of Bukhara,

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the time for the evening prayer (*zuhar*) arrived. Disregarding the prohibitions of his officers, Aurangzib dismounted from his elephant, knelt down on the ground, and deliberately and peacefully went through all the ceremonies of the prayer, in full view of both the armies. Abdul Aziz on hearing of it cried out, 'To fight with such a man is to ruin one's self,' and suspended the battle.

From Balkh, Aurangzib returned to Kabul on 20th October, 1647, and was afterwards appointed Viceroy of Multan (15th March, 1648). This post he held till July, 1652, being twice in the meantime called away from his charge to **besiege Qandahar** (16th May—5th September, 1649, and 2nd May—9th July, 1652). This fort had been wrested from Shah Jahan by the Persians, and these two huge and costly sieges and a third and still greater one under Dara (28th April—27th September, 1653) failed to recover it.

With his **second viceroyalty of the Deccan** (to which his appointment was made on 17th August, 1652), began the most important chapter of Aurangzib's early life. What Gaul was to Julius Cæsar as a training-ground for the coming contest for empire, the Deccan was to Aurangzib. Many hundreds of his letters, preserved in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, give us much interesting information about his life and work during the next six years,—how he overcame his recurring financial difficulties, how he gathered a picked band of officers round himself, how ably and strenuously he

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ruled the country, maintaining order and securing the happiness of the people. By constant inspection and exercise he kept his army in good condition. He must have been often out on tour, as he admits in one of his letters that he was a hard rider and keen sportsman in those days. Thus the year 1658 found him beyond doubt the ablest and best equipped of the sons of Shah Jahan in the ensuing War of Succession.

At this period, too, occurred the only romance of his life, his **passion for Hira Bai,** (surnamed **Zainabadi),** whom he procured from the harem of his maternal uncle. It was a case of love at first sight, and Aurangzib's infatuation for the beautiful singer knew no bound: to please her he consented to drink wine! Their union was cut short by her death in the bloom of youth, which plunged her lover in the deepest grief.

After a long intrigue he seduced from the King of Golkonda his *wazir* Mir Jumla, one of the ablest Persians who have ever served in India. At Aurangzib's recommendation Shah Jahan enrolled Mir Jumla among his officers and threw the mantle of Imperial protection over him. To force the Golkonda King to give up Mir Jumla's family and property, Aurangzib made a **raid on Haidarabad** (Jan.—Apr., 1656); the King fled to Golkonda where he was forced to make a humiliating peace with immense sacrifices. Mir Jumla joined Aurangzib (20th March), was summoned to Delhi and created *wazir* (7th July), and then on 18th January, 1657, returned to the Deccan to reinforce Aurangzib.

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A year after this unprovoked attack on Golkonda, on the death of Muhammad Adil Shah, King of **Bijapur**, Aurangzib with his father's sanction **invaded** the latter country, (January, 1657), captured the forts of Bidar and Kaliani (29th March and 1st August respectively), and was looking forward to annexing a good deal of the territory, when the whole scene changed in the most unexpected and sudden manner.

The Emperor Shah Jahan had now reached his 66th year, and was evidently declining in health. His eldest son and intended heir-apparent, Dara Shukoh, who lived with him and conducted much of the administration, induced him to recall the additional troops sent to Aurangzib for the Bijapur war, on the very reasonable ground that the Bijapur King had thrown himself on the Emperor's mercy and offered a large indemnity and piece of territory as the price of peace. But this peremptory order to Aurangzib to come to terms with Bijapur gave him a sharp check when flushed with victory and cut short his schemes of aggression. Besides, the depletion of his army left him too weak to hold the Bijapuris to their promises, and thus the fruits of his victory were lost.

II.
WAR OF SUCCESSION.

On 6th September, 1657, Shah Jahan at Delhi was taken severely ill. For some time his life was despaired of. Dara attended him day and night with extreme filial piety, but he also took steps to secure his own

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succession. He stopped the couriers on the roads and prevented his brothers from getting true news of Court affairs. But this only aggravated the evil: the wildest rumours prevailed all over the country; the Emperor was believed to be already dead; the officers in the provinces were distracted by the prospect of an empty throne; lawless men in all parts raised their heads without fear of punishment. Two of the princes, Murad and Shuja, openly crowned themselves in their governments, Guzerat and Bengal respectively. Aurangzib after a short period of gnawing anxiety and depressing uncertainty, decided to play a subtler game. He denounced Dara as an apostate from Islam, proclaimed his own design to be merely to free the old Emperor from Dara's domination and to purge the State from non-Islamic influences, and lastly he made an alliance with Murad Bakhsh swearing on the Quran to give him all the Mughal territory from the Panjab westwards.

Meanwhile Dara had despatched two armies, one under his son Sulaiman Shukoh and Mirza Rajah Jai Singh against Shuja who was advancing from Bengal, and the other under Maharajah Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan against Aurangzib and Murad. The first army surprised and routed Shuja at Bahadurpur, opposite Benares, (14th February, 1658), and pursued him to Mungir. But Aurangzib and Murad effected a junction outside Dipalpur and crushed Jaswant's army after a long and terribly contested **battle at Dharmat,** 14 miles south of Ujjain, (15th April). Dara sent off urgent

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orders recalling his son from Bengal. But his division of his forces had been a fatal mistake: Sulaiman returned from far-off Bihar too late to help his father or even to save himself. Aurangzib had the immense advantage of crushing his enemies piecemeal, while his own armed strength was doubled by the league with Murad.

From Ujjain the victorious brothers pushed on to the capital. **At Samugarh**, 10 miles east of Agra, **Dara** who had issued from the city with a second army, attacked them on a frightfully hot day (29th May), was signally **defeated**, and fled from Agra towards Delhi and the Panjab. Aurangzib now marched on Agra, compelled his old father to surrender the fort by stopping the supply of drinking water from the Jumna, and kept Shah Jahan strictly confined in the harem for the remainder of his life. Then, at Mathura he treacherously **made Murad prisoner** at a banquet (25th June), and advancing to Delhi crowned himself Emperor (21st July, 1658). Dara was chased through the Panjab and Sindh to Tatta, whence he fled to Guzerat over the Rann of Cutch, undergoing terrible hardships on the way. A second army which he raised was destroyed near Ajmir (14th March, 1659), and he was hunted by Aurangzib's generals from place to place, till he reached Dadar, at the Indian mouth of the Bolan Pass, whose chief betrayed him to Aurangzib. The captive **Dara** was brought to Delhi, paraded with insult through the bazar, and **murdered** by some slaves of Aurangzib, (30th August, 1659), who had got the Mullas to issue a sentence that

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according to Islamic Law Dara deserved an apostate's death. **Murad Bakhsh** was **beheaded** in Gwalior prison as a judicial punishment, on the accusation of a man whose father he had slain in Guzerat, (4th December, 1661). Dara's eldest son, Sulaiman Shukoh, was secretly done to death in the same State-prison.

Meantime **Shuja** had gathered together a new army and advanced beyond Allahabad to make a second attempt for the throne. But he was signally **defeated at Khajwah** (5th January, 1659), and driven back to Bengal, whence after a two years' struggle on land and river he was forced to flee miserably to **Arracan** for refuge (6th May, 1660). Here he was **massacred** with his whole family for a plot against the Burmese King on whose hospitality he was living.

Thus all his rivals being removed from his path, Aurangzib became the undisputed sovereign of India.

III.

AURANGZIB'S REIGN IN NORTHERN INDIA.

The new monarch now enjoyed a long period of comparative peace: he received grand embassies from Persia (22nd May, 1661), Bukhara (17th November, 1661), Mecca, Abyssinia (1665), and Arabia, sent to congratulate him on his accession; and the envoys were treated to a sight of the lavish splendour of the Mughal Court,—a splendour which dazzled the eyes of Bernier, Tavernier and other European travellers of the time. He had a sharp attack of illness (12th May—24th June, 1662), which threatened to shake his newly planted

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throne; but he recovered and paid a visit to Kashmir (23rd April—29th September, 1663).

Though peace reigned in the heart of the empire, there was **war on the frontiers**: ambitious and enterprising officers tried to extend their master's dominion; Daud Khan, the Governor of Bihar, conquered Palamau (April—December, 1661). Mir Jumla, the Governor of Bengal, overran Kuch Bihar and Assam, capturing their capitals on 19th December, 1661 and 17th March, 1662; but famine and pestilence destroyed his army, and he sank down under disease before reaching Dacca on return (31st March, 1663). Shaista Khan, the next Governor of Bengal, wrested Chatgaon (Chittagong) from the Portuguese and Burmese pirates (26th January, 1666), and also captured the island of Sondip in the Bay of Bengal. An expedition from Kashmir forced the ruler of Greater Tibet to be a feudatory of the Emperor and to "submit to Islam" (November, 1665). To crown all, the able and astute general Jai Singh tamed Shivaji, the daring and hitherto invincible Maratha chief, annexed two-thirds of his forts, (Treaty of Purandhar, 8th June, 1665), and induced him to do homage to the Emperor by a visit to Agra (9th May, 1666). Aurangzib's lack of statesmanship in dealing with Shivaji and the latter's romantic escape from prison (19th August) are a familiar tale all over India. True, the Mughal arms did not gain any conspicuous success in Jai Singh's invasion of Bijapur (second half of 1666), but these expeditions were of the nature of

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raids for extortion, and not deliberate schemes of conquest.

A more formidable but distant trouble was the revolt of the Yusufzai clan and their allies on the Afghan frontier, (begun in 1667). The war against these sturdy hillmen dragged on for many years; successive Mughal generals tried their hands and buried their military reputation there, and at last peace was purchased only by paying a large annual subsidy from the Indian revenue to these "keepers of Khyber gate."

A state of war also continued against the Bijapur King and Shivaji for many years; but the Mughal generals were bribed by the former to carry on the contest languidly, and the latter was more than able to hold his own. These operations present us with nothing worthy of note. The Muhammadan kings of the Deccan, in fear of the Mughals, courted the alliance of Shivaji, who rapidly grew in wealth, territory, armed strength, and prestige, and had made himself the foremost power in the Deccan when death cut his activity short at the age of 52, (14th May, 1680).

Meantime Aurangzib had begun to give free play to his **religious bigotry**. In April, 1669 he ordered the provincial governors to "**destroy** the **temples** and schools of the Brahmans...and to utterly put down the teachings and religious practices of the infidels." The wandering Hindu saint Uddhav Bairagi was confined in the police lock-up. The Vishwanath temple at Benares was pulled down in September 1669. The

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grandest shrine of Mathura, Kesav Rai's temple, built at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees by the Bundela Rajah Birsingh Dev, was razed to the ground in January, 1670, and a mosque built on its site. "The idols were brought to Agra and buried under the steps of Jahanara's mosque that they might be constantly trodden on" by the Muslims going in to pray. About this time the (new?) temple of Somnath on the south coast of the Kathiawar peninsula was demolished, and the offering of worship there ordered to be stopped. The smaller religious buildings that suffered havoc were beyond count. The Rajput War of 1679-80 was accompanied by the destruction of 175 temples in Mewar alone, including the famous one of Someshwar and three grand ones at Udaipur. On 2nd April, 1679, the **jazia** or poll-tax on non-Muslims was **revived**. The poor people who appealed to the Emperor and blocked a road abjectly crying for its remission, were trampled down by elephants at his order and dispersed. By another ordinance (March, 1695), "all Hindus except Rajputs were forbidden to carry arms or ride elephants, *palkis*, or Arab and Persian horses." "With one stroke of his pen he dismissed all the Hindu clerks from office." Custom duties were abolished on the Muslims and doubled on the Hindus.

The discontent provoked by such measures was an ominous sign of what their ultimate political consequence would be, though Aurangzib was too blind and obstinate to think of the future. A rebellion broke

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out among the peasantry in Rewari (December, 1669), another near Mathura under Gokla Jat (January, 1670), and the Satnamis or Mundias rose near Narnol (March and April, 1672), and it taxed the Imperial power seriously to exterminate these 5000 stubborn peasants fighting for church and home. The Sikh Guru Tegh Bahadur was tortured in prison till he courted death as a release (1675), but his followers thereafter gave no rest to the Panjab officers.

At last Aurangzib threw off all disguise and openly **attacked the Rajputs**. Maharajah Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur died in the Emperor's service at Peshawar (10th December, 1678). Immediately Aurangzib sent out officers to take possession of his kingdom and himself marched to Ajmir to overawe opposition. Two wives of the Maharajah delivered two sons after reaching Lahore in the following February. Aurangzib sold the Jodhpur throne for 36 lakhs of rupees to a worthless nephew of Jaswant and ordered the late Maharajah's widows and new-born babes to be seized and detained in this Court till the latter should come of age. But thanks to the devotion of their Rathor guards, all of whom died like heroes, and the sagacity and loyalty of Durgadas, (one of the noblest characters in Rajput history), Ajit Singh, the surviving infant of Jaswant and the future hope of Marwar, was safely conveyed to Jodhpur (23rd July, 1679). But Aurangzib was up to any trick: he proclaimed Ajit Singh to be a counterfeit prince, and for many years cherished a beggar boy

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in his Court under the significant name of Muhammadi Raj, as the true son of Jaswant! All Rajputana (except ever-loyal Jaipur) burst into flame at this outrage to the head of the Rathor clan. The Maharana, Raj Singh, chivalrously took up the defence of the orphan's rights. The war dragged on with varying fortune; the country was devastated wherever the Mughals could penetrate; the Maharana took refuge in his mountain fastnesses. At last **Prince Akbar,** the fourth son of Aurangzib, **rebelled** (January, 1681,) joined the Rajputs, and assumed the royal title. For a few days Aurangzib was in a most critical position, but his wonderful cunning saved him: by a false letter he sowed distrust of Akbar in the minds of the Rajputs, the prince's army melted away, and he fled, leaving all his family and property behind and reaching the Maratha Court after a perilous journey under the guidance of the faithful Durgadas (about May, 1681). The Emperor patched up a peace with the Maharana (June, 1681), both sides making concessions. But henceforth the Rajputs ceased to be supporters of the Mughal throne; we no longer read of large Rajput contingents fighting under the Imperial banner; he had to depend more on the Bundelas. The Rathors continued the war till the close of Aurangzib's life. Here ends the first and stable half of Aurangzib's reign—the period passed in Northern India.

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IV.

AURANGZIB'S REIGN IN THE DECCAN.

We next enter on a scene of unceasing but fruitless exertion for 26 years,—the war with the "slim" Marathas, which ruined the Emperor's health, the *morale* of his army, and the finances of the State,—a war of which all saw the futility and all were heartily tired, all save Aurangzib, who pursued one policy with increasing obstinacy, till at last the old man of 90 sank into the grave amidst despair, darkness, and chaos ready to overwhelm his family and empire.

Shivaji's eldest son Sambha was a more daring raider than his father and deterred by no fear of consequences. With Akbar as his pensioner, what might he not do against the Mughal crown? Moreover, of all Aurangzib's generals and even his sons sent against the kingdoms of the Deccan had failed of conquest, and were rightly suspected of corruption. So there was nothing left for Aurangzib but to conduct the war in person. With this object he left Ajmir for the Deccan (8th September, 1681), never again to return to Northern India alive or dead. The capital Aurangabad was reached on 22nd March, 1682. Thence, on 13th November, 1683, he arrived at Ahmadnagar, a town to which he was destined to return 23 years afterwards only to die. Two of his sons and some nobles were despatched against the Bijapuris and the Marathas, but they effected nothing decisive, though a large number of Sambha's forts were captured. A large force which penetrated into

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Ram-derah in the Konkan under Prince Muazzam, returned with failure and heavy loss (September, 1683,—May, 1684).

Fierce as was Aurangzib's hatred of the Hindus (the vast majority of his subjects), it was equalled by his **aversion for the Shiahs,**—who supplied him with some of his best generals and all his ablest civil officers. To him the Shiah was a heretic (*ráfizi*); in one of his letters he quotes with admiration the story of a Sunni who escaped to Turkey after murdering a Shiah at Isfahan, and draws from it the moral, "Whoever acts for truth and speaks up for truth, is befriended by the True God!" In another letter he tells us how he liked the naming of a dagger as the 'Shiah-slayer' (*Ráfizi-kush*), and ordered some more of the same name to be made for him. In his correspondence he never mentions the Shiahs without an abusive epithet: 'corpse-eating demons' (*ghul-i-bayábáni*), 'misbelievers' (*bátil mazhabán*), are among his favourite phrases. Indeed, even the highest Shiah officers had such a bad time of it in his Court that they often played the hypocrite to please him! Aurangzib threw the cloak of Sunni orthodoxy over his aggressive conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda, of which the rulers were Shiahs. The Shaikh-ul-Islam (son of the Chief Qazi Abdul Wahhab and one of the purest characters of the age,) tried to dissuade the Emperor from these "wars between Muslims" as opposed to Islam. But Aurangzib got displeased at the opposition; the honest and manly Shaikh resigned his post, left the

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Court, and for the rest of his life rejected the Emperor's repeated solicitations to resume his high office.

On 27th March, 1685 the **siege of Bijapur** was begun by Prince Azam and Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur. The Emperor advanced to Sholapur (24th May) to be near the seat of war. A terrible famine desolated the besiegers; but reinforcements soon arrived with provisions, though scarcity of a kind continued in a chronic state in the Mughal camp. The relieving armies of Beydurs and Marathas were beaten back and the siege pressed on. The garrison fought with the heroism of despair. Aurangzib himself arrived in the environs of the city to superintend the siege operations (3rd July, 1686). At last, on 12th September, Sikandar, the last of the Adil Shahi kings, surrendered, and his kingdom was annexed.

Meantime another force had been sent under Prince Muazzam or Shah Alam (28th June, 1685) against Golkonda to prevent aid from coming from that quarter to Bijapur. It captured the rich city of Haidarabad, making an immense loot (October). The king, Abul Hasan, a worthless voluptuary and the exact counterpart of Wajid Ali of Oudh, helplessly **shut** himself **up** in the **Fort of Golkonda.** But his chiefs were seduced by the Mughals; there was discontent among his Muhammadan officers at the power of his Brahman minister Madna Panth. The besiegers, too, had a hard time of it before that impregnable fort: a terrible famine raged in Haidarabad, but the rains and

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swollen rivers rendered the transport of grain impossible, and the most ghastly scenes were acted by the sufferers. At an immense cost the Mughals filled the moat and also erected a huge barrier wall of wood and clay completely surrounding the fort and preventing ingress and egress. Aurangzib himself arrived near Golkonda on 28th January, 1687, and pressed on the siege. But mining and assault failed, and it was only the treachery of a Golkonda officer that opened the gate of the fort to the Mughals at midnight (21st September, 1687). The king was dragged out and sent to share the captivity of his brother of Bijapur. His kingdom was annexed. Two years later, **Sambhaji**, the brave but dissolute Maratha king, was surprised by an energetic Deccani officer (Muqarrab Khan), ignominiously paraded through the Imperial camp like a wild beast, and **executed** with prolonged and inhuman tortures (11th March, 1689). His capital Raigarh was captured (19th October) and his entire family, "mothers, wives, daughters, and sons" made prisoner by the Mughals. His eldest son, Sahu, was brought up in the Imperial Court in gilded fetters.

All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzib now, but in reality all was lost. It was **the beginning of his end.** The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre. Aurangzib, like the boa constrictor, had swallowed more than he could digest. It was impossible for him to take

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possession of all the provinces of the newly annexed kingdoms and at the same time to suppress the Marathas. His enemies rose on all sides, he could defeat but not crush them for ever. As soon as his army marched away from a place, the enemy who had been hovering round occupied it again, and Aurangzib's work was undone! Lawlessness reigned in many places of Northern and Central India. The old Emperor in the far off Deccan lost control over his officers in Hindustan, and the **administration** grew **slack** and corrupt; chiefs and zamindars defied the local authorities and asserted themselves, filling the country with tumult. In the province of Agra in particular, there was chronic disorder. Art and learning decayed at the withdrawal of Imperial patronage,—not a single grand edifice, finely written manuscript, or exquisite picture commemorates Aurangzib's reign. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury; the Government turned bankrupt; the soldiers, starving from arrears of pay, mutinied; and during the closing years of his reign the revenue of Bengal, regularly sent by the faithful and able diwan Murshid Quli Khan, was the sole support of the Emperor's household and army, and its arrival was eagerly looked forward to. Napoleon I. used to say, "It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me." The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzib.

To resume the narrative, Imperial officers were despatched to all sides to take over the forts and provinces of the two newly annexed kingdoms from

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their local officers, many of whom had set up for themselves. The Beydurs, a wild hill tribe, whom Col. Meadows Taylor has described in his fascinating *Story of My Life*, were the first to be attacked. Their country, situated between Bijapur and Golkonda, was overrun, their capital Sakhkhar captured (28th Nov., 1687), and their chief Pid Naik, a strongly built uncouth black savage, brought to the Court. But the brave and hardy clansmen rose under other leaders and the Mughals had to send two more expeditions against them.

A desolating epidemic of **bubonic plague** broke out in Bijapur (early in November, 1688), sparing neither prince nor peasant. The Imperial household paid toll to Death in the persons of Aurangabadi Mahal (a wife of the Emperor), Fazil Khan the *Sadr*, and the bogus son of Jaswant Singh. Of humbler victims the number is said to have reached a *lakh*.

After Sambha's capture, his younger brother Rajah Ram made a hair-breadth escape to the fort of Jinji, (Gingee in the S. Arcot district of Madras), which was besieged by the Mughal general Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat Jang and Prince Kam Bakhsh (December, 1691), and fell on 7th February, 1698. Soon afterwards Rajah Ram, the last king of the Marathas, died. But the **Maratha** captains, each acting on his own account, incessantly raided the Mughal territory and did the greatest possible injury by their **guerilla warfare**. The two ablest, most successful, and most dreaded leaders of this class were Dhanna Jadon and Santa Ghorpure (and

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latterly Nima Sindhia), who dealt heavy blows at some important Mughal detachments. They seemed to be ubiquitous and elusive like the wind. The movable columns frequently sent from the Imperial headquarters to "chastise the robbers," only marched and counter-marched, without being able to crush the enemy. When the Mughal force had gone back the scattered Marathas, like water parted by the oar, closed again and resumed their attack, as if nothing had happened to them.

V.

THE LAST PHASE.

After moving about almost every year between Bijapur in the south and the Manjira river in the north, Aurangzib (21st May, 1695) finally made Brahmapuri on the Bhima river, east of Pandharpur, his Base **Camp,** and named it **Islampuri.** Here a city sprang up from his encampment, and it was walled round in time. Here his family was lodged when he was out on campaign.

On 19th October, 1699, after a four years' stay at Islampuri, Aurangzib, now aged 81 years, set out to **besiege the Maratha forts in person.** The rest of his life is a repetition of the same sickening tale: a hill fort captured by him after a great loss of time men and money, recovered by the Marathas from the weak Mughal garrison after a few months, and the siege begun again after a year or two! The soldiers and camp-followers suffered unspeakable hardships in marching

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over flooded rivers and rain-soaked roads, porters disappeared, transport beasts died of hunger and overwork, scarcity of grain was chronic in the camp. The officers all wearied of this labour of Sisyphus; but Aurangzib would burst into wrath at any suggestion of retreat to Hindustan and taunt the unlucky counsellor with cowardice and love of ease! The mutual jealousies of his generals, Nusrat Jang and Firuz Jang, Shujaet Khan and Muhammad Murad Khan, Tarbiyat Khan and Fathullah Khan, spoiled his affairs as thoroughly as the French cause in the Peninsular War was damaged by the jealousies of Napoleon's marshals. Therefore, the Emperor must conduct every operation in person, or nothing would be done!

A bare **record of his sieges** will suffice here:

BASANTGARH (surrenders 25th Nov., 1699).

SATARA (siege, 8th Dec., 1699—21 Ap., 1700).

PARLIGARH near Satara (siege, 30th Ap.—9th June).

Halt at Khawaspur for the rainy season of 1700—(from 30th Aug.)

PANHALA (siege, 9th Mar.—28th May, 1701), also Pawangarh captured.

Halt at Khatanun for the rainy season of 1701, (29th May—7th Nov.).

Capture of Wardhangarh (6th June, 1701), Nandgir, Chandan and Wandan (6th Oct.) by Fathullah Khan.

KHELNA (siege, 26th Dec., 1701—4th June, 1702).

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Halt at Bahadurpur for the rainy season of 1702, after a most painful march from 10th June to the third week of October!

KONDANA (seige, 27th December, 1702—8th April, 1703).

Halt at Puna for the rainy season of 1703, (1st May —10th November).

RAJGARH (siege, 2nd December, 1703—16th February, 1704).

TORNA (siege, 23rd February—10th March).

Halt at Khed for the rainy season of 1704 (17th April—22nd October).

WAKINKHERA (siege, 8th February—27th April, 1705).

Halt at Dewapur, 6 miles from Wakinkhera *for the rainy season* of 1705, (May—23rd October).

This was the last of his sieges, for here he got a warning of what was to come. At Dewapur a severe illness attacked him, which was aggravated by his insistence to transact business as usual. The whole camp was in despair and confusion: who would extricate them from that gloomy mountainous region if the Emperor died? At last Aurangzib yielded to their entreaty and probably also to the warning of approaching death, and **retreated to** Bahadurpur (6th December, 1705), whence he reached **Ahmadnagar** (20th January, 1706), to die a year later.

The last few years of his life were inexpressibly sad. On its public side there was the consciousness that his long reign of half a century had been a colossal failure.

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"After me will come the deluge!" this morose foreboding of Louis XV. was repeated by Aurangzib almost word for word (*Az ma-st hamah fasad-i-báqi.*) His domestic life, too, was loveless and dreary, and wanting in the benign peace and hopefulness which throw a halo round old age. One daughter, Zinat-un-nissa, already an old maid, looked after his household, and his youngest concubine, Udaipuri, bore him company. But he had, at one time or other, to imprison all his five sons except one! By his own conduct in the War of Succession he had raised a spectre which relentlessly pursued him: what if *his* sons should treat him in his weak old age as he had treated Shah Jahan? This fear of Nemesis ever haunted his mind, and he had no peace while his sons were with him! Lastly, there was the certainty of a deluge of blood when he would close his eyes, and his three surviving sons, each supported by a provincial army and treasury, would fight for the throne to the bitter end. In two most pathetic letters written to his sons when he felt the sure approach to death, the old Emperor speaks of the alarm and distraction of his soldiery, the passionate grief of Udaipuri, and his own bitter sense of the futility of his life, and then entreats them not to cause the slaughter of Musalmans by engaging in a civil war among themselves. A paper, said to have been found under his pillow after his death, contained a plan for the peaceful partition of the empire among his three sons. Meantime death was also busy at work within

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his family circle. When Gauharara, the last among Aurangzib's brothers and sisters, died, (about March, 1706,) he felt that his own turn would come soon. Some of his nephews, daughters, and grandsons, too, were snatched away from him in the course of his last year. In the midst of the darkness closing around him, he used to hum the pathetic verses :—

By the time you are 80 or 90 years of age,
You will have felt many hard blows from Fate ;
And when you reach the stage of a 100 years,
Life will be the image of death to you.

And also,—

In a moment, in a minute, in a breath,
The condition of the world may become different.

His last illness overtook him at Ahmadnagar, late in January, 1707 ; then he rallied for 5 or 6 days, sent away his two sons from his camp to their provincial governments, and went through business and daily prayers regularly. But that worn-out frame of 91 years had been taxed too much. A severe fever set in, and in the morning of Friday, 20th February, 1707, he gradually sank down exhausted into the arms of death, with the Muslim confession of faith on his lips and his fingers on his rosary.

The corpse was despatched to Khuldabad, six miles from Daulatabad, and there buried in the courtyard of the tomb of the saint Shaikh Zainuddin, in a red sand-stone sepulchre built by Aurangzib in his own lifetime. The tomb-stone, 9 feet by 7 feet, is a few inches in

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height, and has a cavity in the middle which is filled with earth for planting fragrant herbs in.

Aurangzib's wife, DILRAS BANU BEGAM, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, died on 8th October, 1657, after bearing him Zebunnissa, Azam and Akbar. A secondary wife (*mahal*) NAWAB BAI, the mother of Sultan and Muazzam, does not seem to have been a favourite, as her husband seldom sought her society after his accession. Of his three concubines (*parastar*), Hira Bai or ZAINABADI, with whom he was infatuated almost to madness, died very young; AURANGABADI, the mother of Mihrunnissa, died of the plague in November 1688; UDAIPURI, the favourite companion of Aurangzib's old age and the mother of his pet son Kam Bakhsh, entered his harem after his accession. She is said to have been a Circassian slave-girl of Dara, gained by Aurangzib among the spoils of victory. But another account which describes her as a Kashmiri woman, is more likely to be true, because the *Masir-i-Alamgiri* calls her *Bai*, a title which was applied to Hindu women only. Her descent from the royal house of Mewar is a fanciful conjecture of some modern writers. We also read of a woman named *Dilaram*, as having been his *parastar* in his early life; but she was probably a handmaid only.

Aurangzib's eldest son, SULTAN, chafing under the restraints of his father's officers, during the war in Bengal, fled to Shuja and married his daughter, but in a few months returned to his father. The foolish

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youth, then only 20 years old, was kept in prison for the rest of his life. (Died 3rd December, 1676.)

His second son, MUAZZAM, (also *Shah Alam*), who in 1707 succeeded his father on the throne as Bahadur Shah I., incensed Aurangzib by intriguing with the besieged kings of Bijapur and Golkonda, and was placed in confinement (20th February, 1687.) After his spirit had been thoroughly tamed, his captivity was relaxed little by little (in a rather amusing fashion), and at last, on 9th May, 1695, he was sent to Agra as Governor, (afterwards getting the Panjab to govern).

The third prince, AZAM, stepped into the vacant place of the heir-apparent (*Shah-i-alijah*) during Muazzam's disgrace, and was made much of by his father. But he was extremely haughty, prone to anger, and incapable of self-restraint.

The fourth, AKBAR, rebelled against his father in 1681, and fled to Persia where he died an exile in November, 1704. His presence at Farah, on the Khurasan frontier, was long a menace to the peace of India.

The youngest, KAM BAKHSH, the spoilt child of his father's old age, was worthless, self willed, and foolish. For his misconduct during the siege of Jinji he was put under restraint, and again confined for his fatuous attachment to his foster-brother, a wretch who had tried to assassinate an excellent officer. The third and fifth brothers fell fighting in the struggle for the throne which followed Aurangzib's death, (1707 and 1709).

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AURANGZIB'S CHARACTER.

So lived and so died Aurangzib, surnamed Alamgir Shah, the last of the Great Mughals. For, in spite of his religious intolerance, narrowness of mind, and lack of generosity and statesmanship, he was great in the possession of some qualities which might have gained for him the highest place in any sphere of life except the supreme one of rule over men. He would have made a successful general, minister, theologian, or school-master, and an ideal departmental head. But the critical eminence of a throne on which he was placed by a freak of Fortune, led to the failure of his life and the blighting of his fame.

Pure in his domestic relations, simple and abstemious like a hermit, he had a passion for work and a hatred of ease and pleasure which remind one of George Grenville, though with Grenville's untiring industry he had also got Grenville's narrowness and obstinacy. European travellers observed with wonder the grey-headed Emperor holding open Court every day, reading every petition and writing orders across it with his own hand. Of the letters dictated by him, those that are known to exist in Europe and India, number about two thousand. (I have got copies of all of them as far as known to me). Many more must have perished.

In matters of official discipline and Court etiquette he was a martinet and enforced the strictest obedience to rules and established usages: "If I suffer a single regulation to be violated, all of them will be disregard-

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ed," was his frequent remark. But this punctilious observance of the form must have led to neglect of the spirit of institutions and laws.

His passion for doing everything himself and dictating the minutest particulars to far-off governors and generals, robbed them of all self-reliance and power of initiative, and left them hesitating and helpless in the face of any unexpected emergency. His suspicious policy crushed the latent ability of his sons, so that at his death they were no better than children though turned of sixty years of age. Alike in his passion for work, distrust of the man on the spot, preference for incompetent but servile agents, and religious bigotry, he resembled his contemporary in Europe, Louis XIV.

His coolness and courage were famous throughout India: no danger however great, no emergency however unlooked for, could shake his heart or cloud the serene light of his intellect. Indeed, he regarded danger as only the legitimate risk of greatness. No amount of exertion could fatigue that thin wiry frame. The privations of a campaign or forced ride had no terror for him. Of diplomacy he was a past master, and could not be beaten in any kind of intrigue or secret manipulation. He was as much a "master of the pen" as a "master of the sword."

From the strict path of a Muslim king's duty as laid down in the Quranic Law nothing could make him deviate the least. And he was also determined not to let *others* deviate too! No fear of material loss

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no influence of any favourite, no tears or supplication could induce him to act contrary to the *Shari* (Canon Law). Flatterers styled him "a living saint," (*Alamgir zinda pir*). Indeed, from a very early period of his life he had chosen "the strait gate and narrow way which leadeth unto life"; but the defects of his heart made the gate straiter and the way narrower.

He lacked that warm generosity of the heart, that chivalry to fallen foes, and that easy familiarity of address in private life, which made the great Akbar win the love and admiration of his contemporaries and of all posterity. Like the English Puritans, Aurangzib drew his inspiration from the old law of relentless punishment and vengeance and forgot that mercy is an attribute of the Supreme Judge of the Universe.

His cold intellectuality, his suspicious nature, and his fame for profound statecraft, chilled the love of all who came near him. Sons, daughters, generals, and ministers, all feared him with a secret but deep-rooted fear, which neither respect nor flattery could disguise.

Art, music, dance, and even poetry (other than "familiar quotations") were his aversion, and he spent his leisure hours in hunting for legal precedents in Arabic works on Jurisprudence.

Scrupulously following the rules of the Quran in his own private life, he considered it his duty to enforce them on everybody else; the least deviation from the strict and narrow path of Islamic orthodoxy in any

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part of his dominions, would (he feared) endanger his own soul. His spirit was therefore the narrow and selfish spirit of the lonely recluse, who seeks his individual salvation, oblivious of the outside world. A man possessed with such ideas may have made a good *faqir*,—though Aurangzib lacked the *faqir's* noblest quality, charity;—but he was the worst ruler imaginable of an empire composed of many creeds and races, of diverse interests and ways of life and thought.

"The nature of man is intricate; the objects of society are of the greatest possible complexity; and therefore no simple disposition or direction of power can be suitable either to man's nature, or to the quality of his affairs.....Political reason is a computing principle; adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing true moral denominations.....The true lawgiver ought to have an heart full of sensibility. He ought to love and respect his kind, and to fear himself. Political arrangement is to be only wrought by social means. There mind must conspire with mind." (*Burke*).

Aurangzib utterly lacked sympathy, imagination, breadth of vision, elasticity in the choice of means, and that warmth of the heart which atones for a hundred faults of the head. These limitations of his character completely undermined the Mughal empire, so that on his death it suddenly fell in a single downward plunge. Its inner life was gone, and the outward form could not deceive the world long. Time relentlessly sweeps away whatever is inefficient, unnecessary, or false to Nature.

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ANECDOTES OF AURANGZIB

INTRODUCTION

In 1903, Mr. William Irvine, I.C.S. (retired), the historian of the Later Mughals, in his usual spirit of help to younger men engaged in research, lent me a work (numbered by him 252) from his private collection of Persian Mss. which was not known to exist in any other library of Europe or India and which no historian had yet used. It was the *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, attributed to the pen of Hamiduddin Khan (surnamed Nimchah-i-Alamgiri), whose life is given in the *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 605—611. But of this authorship there is no proof, and none of the three Mss. bears his name. Subsequently Mr. Irvine sent me another and earlier Ms. of the *Ahkam*, (No. 340 of his library), of which No. 252 is only a copy. I made a transcript of the work, carefully collating the two Ms. In 1905, I discovered another fragment of this work bound up with some letters of Aurangzib, with the leaves put together in disorder, in the India Office Library Persian Ms. 3388. In October 1907, I found at Rampur (Rohilkhand) a fourth copy, identical with Mr. Irvine's in extent and arrangement of matter, but more correct and supplying useful variants. The owner, Nawab Abdus Salam Khan Bahadur, retired Sub-Judge, Oudh, very kindly permitted me to take a copy of it. This gentleman possesses another Ms. of the work, which he has named *Sharah-i-dastkhat-i-Alamgiri*. It is incomplete and covers a portion of the India Office Ms. (the arrange-

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ment, however, being different.) There is only one new anecdote in it, which I have printed as § 51.

On the basis of these three Mss. (*viz.*, No. 252 collated with 340, No. 3388, and the Rampur copy,) I have edited the Persian text and made the following English translation of it. The division of the book and the arrangement of the anecdotes are my own. The passages printed in thick type are in Arabic in the original, and have been translated with the kind help of Prof. Abdul Hai of Patna College.

Abbreviations.

Ir. Ms. = Irvine Ms. No. 252.

Ms. N. = India Office Library Persian Ms. No. 3388.

Ms. R = Rampur (Abdus Salam Khan's) first Ms. of the *Ahkam.*

A. N. = *Alamgirnamah.*

Pad = *Padishahnamah* ed. by Abdul Hamid Lahori.

M.U. = *Masir-ul-Umara*
M.A. = *Masir-i-Alamgiri*
Khafi Khan = *Muntakhab-ul-Labab*

} The last five works in the Bibliotheca Indica edition.

My Persian text mainly follows Irvine Ms. 252, which is referred to as *Nuskha B.* All the important variants are given in the footnotes. *Nuskha A.* means Irvine Ms. 340, *Nuskha N.* means the India Office Ms., and *Nuskha R.* stands for Abdus Salam's first Ms.

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ANECDOTES OF AURANGZIB

(Translated from the Persian)

SECTION I

ABOUT AURANGZIB HIMSELF

§ 1. Young Aurangzib fights with an Elephant.

WHEN the Emperor Shah Jahan was staying at Lahore, he often engaged in [witnessing] elephant-combats in the garden of Shalamar. Once the Governor of Bengal sent him 40 highly praised game elephants. The Emperor sat at the balcony, while the four princes (his sons) witnessed the sport from horse-back. One elephant fleeing from its opponent came towards the princes. Three of the Emperor's sons fled to the right and left. Only Muhammad Aurangzib, who was fourteen years old, stood firmly without moving at all. The runaway elephant passed by him. The pursuing elephant, leaving its rival, turned towards him. The prince charged it with the spear he held in his hand. A blow from the elephant's trunk hurled the horse down upon the ground. Aurangzib leaped up and seizing the spear again turned to the elephant in order to throw it at its head. At this juncture the servants came up and the Emperor in great alarm descended from the balcony. Aurangzib slowly proceeded towards his Majesty. Itimad Khan, the *nazir*, who had come near,—considering that he, as one of the family of the Prince's maternal grandfather Asaf Khan,

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was an elder [relative], cried out in a loud tone, "You are coming away slowly, while the Emperor is in an awful state [of alarm]." The Prince replied in a low tone, "If the elephant were here I might have walked faster. But *now* there is no reason to be agitated!" When Aurangzib reached his father, the Emperor presented him with one lakh of rupees and said, "My child, thank God that it ended well! If (God forbid it!) the matter had taken a different turn, what a dishonour would it have been!" Aurangzib salamed and replied, "If it had ended differently there would have been no dishonour in it. The shame lay in what my brothers did. [*Verse*]

Death draws the veil over emperors.

What dishonour is there in it?"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 15 *a* & *b*, Ms.N. 25 *b*—26 *b*.

Notes.—The true account of the incident is thus given in the *Padishahnamah* of Abdul Hamid, i. A. 489—492 :—Shah Jahan was witnessing an elephant combat from the balcony of Agra Fort (28th May, 1633). His three elder sons were on horseback on the ground. Two elephants named Sudhakar (tusked) and Suratsundar (tuskless) were ordered to fight. Sudhakar on seeing its rival running away, charged Aurangzib, who kept his horse from turning back, and wounded the elephant on the forehead with his spear. The fireworks (rockets, *charkhis*, &c.) discharged by the servants had no effect on the elephant, which felled Aurangzib's horse with its *tusk* (not trunk). Aurangzib jumped down from the saddle in time. Shuja forcing his way through the crowd and smoke, struck the brute with his spear, but his horse reared and threw him down. Jai Singh's horse shied. Meantime Suratsundar returned to the attack, and Sudhakar ran away from

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the Princes. Aurangzib was just 14 years of age at the time. The Emperor presented him with 5,000 gold coins, the elephant Sudhakar, and other gifts of the total value of two *lakhs* of rupees.

Itimad Khan is evidently a mistake for Itiqad Khan, the brother of Yaminuddaula Asaf Khan and Nur Jahan. He was sent to Delhi as Subahdar early in March, 1633. (*Padishahnamah*, i. A. 472). Died 1650.

§ 2. Aurangzib's early Jealousy of Dara.

A mansion had been [newly] built at Agra for Dara Shukoh. He invited to it Shah Jahan and his three brothers. As it was the summer season, an underground room had been constructed close to the river, and mirrors from Aleppo, longer than the human stature, had been hung on the side towards the river. Dara conducted Shah Jahan and his brothers to see how the room looked. Muhammad Aurangzib sat down close to the door leading in and out of the room. Dara seeing it winked at the Emperor, as if to say 'See where he is sitting.' His majesty said, "My child, though I know you to be learned and hermit-like, yet it is also needful to maintain one's rank. There is a popular saying,—'If you do not maintain your rank, you are an atheist'. What necessity is there for you to sit down in the path by which people pass, and in a position below and behind your younger brother?" Aurangzib replied, "I shall afterwards tell you the reason of my sitting thus." After a short time he rose on the plea of performing his mid-day prayer (*Zuhar*), and went back from the place to his own house without

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taking the Emperor's permission. When the Emperor heard of it he forbade him the Court, so that the Prince was debarred from the audience for seven months. After the seven months, the Emperor told the Begam Sahib [Jahanara, the Crown Princess], "Go to his house and learn for me the reason of his coming back on that day without my leave and of his sitting down on a low level." When the Begam Sahib went and asked him, he replied, "On the day when Dara Shukoh invited us, if that brother intentionally so acted that, after making his father and three brothers sit down in that underground room with one door, he repeatedly came in and went out for the necessary supervision of the entertainment, [I feared that] he might shut the door, and then all would be over [with us]. If he acted thus through carelessness, it repeatedly struck me that I should do the work (of guarding the door) while he was inside the room. But His Majesty out of a sense of dignity forbade my action. So I came out after begging God's pardon." Immediately on hearing this the Emperor summoned the Prince and conferred favours on him. The Prince told Sadullah Khan [the Prime Minister], "Send me away from the Court by any means that you can, as I have lost my sleep and peace of mind." So His Majesty sent him from Lahore* to act as Governor of the Deccan.

Text—Ir Ms. 15 *b*—16*a*, Ms. N. 24 *a*—25 *b*.

* This must be a mistake for *Multan*. Aurangzib was never Subahdar of Lahore (the Panjab), but on 14th July, 1652 he was appointed Subahdar of the Deccan on transfer from Multan.

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Notes—On 1st December, 1645 Dara was given two *lakhs* of rupees for his new house on the Jumna *at Delhi* (Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, ii. 474). This house was visited by Shah Jahan on 14th March, 1643 (*Ibid*, 333.) Dara's house on the bank of the Jumna at *Agra* was inhabited by the Emperor from 20th July to 8th August, 1644 (*Ibid*, 380, 386). Aurangzib was in disgrace at Agra from 28th May to 25th November, 1644 (*Ibid* 376, 398) and was afterwards (16th February, 1645) sent as Subahdar to Guzerat (411). The Emperor again visited Dara's house at Agra on 2nd January, 1645 (403).

§ 3. Young Aurangzib's Courtesy to Nobles.

Dara Shukoh behaved towards some of the nobles with enmity and towards some others with arrogance,—such as Ali Mardán Khan, Sadullah Khan, and Syed Mirán of Barha, who were commanders of five thousand each and intimate courtiers of Shah Jahan. But Aurangzib had a special friendship with everyone of them; so that in his letters he used to address Ali Mardán Khan, (on whom Shah Jahan had bestowed the title of 'Faithful Friend,', with the friendly epithet 'Man of good deeds' ; to address Sadullah Khan (who had the titles of ' Staff of old age ' and ' Minister full of plans', and of whom Aurangzib, by reason of his having read with him, regarded himself as a pupil), as ' Minister full of plans ' and 'the Head of humble pupils ' ; and Syed Miran Barha, whom the Emperor had entitled ' the Syed of Syeds', as ' The essence of the descendants of His Holiness the Syed of the Universe (*i.e.*, Muhammad) '. Every one of these three nobles, and others besides them such as Afzal Khan Mulla Ala-ul-mulk

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(who from the rank of *khansaman* afterwards attained to the post of *wazir*), in their extreme love for Aurangzib did every service required by friendship in concealing his secrets. His Majesty Shah Jahan was deeply grieved at heart to see the signs of [future] misfortune on the forehead of *Shah-i-buland-iqbal* (Dara Shukoh) and the marks of rise in the fortune of Aurangzib. He advised Dara against his bad acts and words. But when he found that Dara Shukoh did not profit by the good counsel, as has been well said (*Verse*),

> If the blanket of a man's Fate has been woven black,
> Even the waters of the Zamzam and Kausar† cannot wash it white,

he wished that Muhammad Aurangzib should change his behaviour to the nobles that they might give up guarding his secrets.

On a royal letter he wrote in his own hand to Aurangzib, "My child! it is proper for kings and their sons to have a lofty spirit and to display elevation of mind. I have heard that in dealing with every one of my officers you show the greatest humility on your part. If you do so with a view to the future, [know that] all things depend on predestination, and that nothing but contempt will be gained by this meekness of spirit." Aurangzib replied, "What your Majesty has, out of favour and kindness, written with your gracious pen concerning this humble slave, has come **like a revelation from the heavens.** Hail, true saint and spiritual guide! **'Thou givest honour to whomsoever Thou**

† Zamzam is a well at Mecca and Kausar is a spring of heaven.

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wishest and disgrace to whom thou desirest,' [this text proves that honour and lowliness] are solely dependent on the predestination of the Master of Slaves and Creator of Earth and Cities. I am acting according to the Tradition narrated by Anas the son of Málik, **'Whosoever humbles himself, God bestows honour on him.'** I consider wounding the hearts [of others] as the worst of sins and the most shameful of vices. I am not contradicting what has been written in your gracious letter, but I know for certain that it was written agreeably to [the verse] **'The temptations of the Devil, who creates suspicion in the hearts of men; and he is one of the genii and men."** (*Verse*),

I cannot say anything except excuses for my sins.
Pardon the sins of me, a wretch with a blackened
face and dark record !"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 22*b*—23*b*.

Notes.—Mulla Ala-ul-mulk Tuni was created Fazil Khan (not *Afzal*) and *Khansaman* by Shah Jahan (*M. U.* iii. 524—530). Aurangzib appointed him *diwan*, *i.e. wazir*, on 7th June, 1663, but he died on the 23rd. (*M. A.* 46). Anas ibn Malik (d. 93 A. H.) was the last of the Companions of Muhammad and the founder of the Maliki sect.

§ 4. Shah Jahan's Estimate of his Sons.

The Emperor Shah Jahan used to say, "At times I fear that my eldest son [Dara Shukoh] has become the enemy of good men; Murad Bakhsh has set his heart on drinking; Muhammad Shuja has no good trait except contentment (*i. e.*, easy good nature). But the resolution and intelligence of Aurangzib make it

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necessary that he would undertake this difficult task (*viz.*, ruling India). But there is great sickliness and infirmity in his physical frame. (*Verse*)

So that, whom will he wish for as a friend
and to whom will his heart incline?

Text.—Ir. Ms. 14 *a*. Not in Ms. N. This anecdote occurs in many other collections, and is No. 5 in the lithographed *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*.

§ 5. Love-affair with Zainabadi.

The affair of Zainabadi was in this manner:

At the time when Aurangzib, then governor of the Deccan, was going to Aurangabad [his head quarters], on arriving at Burhanpur, the governor of which was Saif Khan, (who had married the Prince's maternal aunt, *viz.* Saliha Banu, the daughter of Asaf Khan), he went to visit her, and she too had invited him. As it was the house of his aunt, not much care was taken to remove the women of the harem out of his view, and the Prince entered the house without announcing himself. Zainabadi, whose original name was Hirá Bái, was standing under a tree, holding a branch with her right hand and singing in a low tone. Immediately after seeing her, the Prince helplessly sat down there, and then stretched himself at full length on the ground in a swoon. The news was carried to his aunt. Running barefooted [to the place] she clasped him in her breast and began to wail and lament. After 3 or 4 *gharis* the Prince regained consciousness. However much she inquired about his condition, saying, 'What malady is

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it? Did you ever have it before?' the Prince gave no reply at all, but remained silent. The joy of the entertainment and hospitality was destroyed, and the affair turned into mourning and grief. It was midnight when the Prince recovered his speech, and said, "If I mention my disease, can you apply the remedy?" When his aunt heard these words, she in extreme gladness gave propitiatory alms (*tasadduq*), made sacrifices (*qurbán*), and said, "What to speak of remedy? I shall offer my life itself [to cure you]." Then the Prince revealed the whole matter to her. On hearing it, she [almost] lost her consciousness and became tongue-tied, not knowing what to answer. At last the Prince said, "You have uselessly shown all this benevolence in inquiring after my health. When you are not giving a reply to my words, how can you treat me?" The aunt replied, "May I be your sacrifice (*tasadduq*)! You know this wretch, (*viz.*, Saif Khan); he is a bloodthirsty man, and does not care in the least for the Emperor Shah Jahan or yourself. On only hearing of your request [for Hirá Bái] he will first murder her and then me. Telling him [about your passion] will do no other good than that I shall have to sacrifice my life. But why should the life of that poor innocent girl be destroyed for no offence?" The Prince replied, "Indeed, you have spoken the truth. I shall try some other device."

After sunrise he came back to his own house, and did not eat anything at all. Summoning Murshid Quli Khan, who was the Prince's subordinate and

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Diwan of the Deccan, he discussed the case in detail with him, as he was his trusted confidant of secrets. The Khan said, "Let me first despatch him (*i.e.*, murder Saif Khan), and if after it anybody slays me, there will be no harm, as in exchange of my blood-price the work of my saint and spiritual guide (*i.e.*, the Prince) will be achieved." The Prince replied, "Indeed, I know that you are so ready to sacrifice your life for me. But my heart does not consent to making my aunt a widow. Besides, according to the Quranic Law, one cannot undertake a manifest murder with a knowledge of religious law. You should speak [to Saif Khan], relying on God [for success]." Murshid Quli Khan set off without any grumbling and told everything to Saif Khan, who replied, "Convey my *salam* to the Prince. I shall give the answer of this to his maternal aunt." That very moment he went to the women's apartments and told [his wife], "What harm is there in it? I have no need for [Aurangzib's] Begam, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan. Let him send me Chattar Bai, his own concubine *(haram)*, that she may be exchanged [with Hira Bai]." And immediately afterwards he sent the aunt in a litter to the Prince; when she objected saying that she would not go, he insisted, 'Go quickly, if you love your life.' So she had no help but to go and tell everything to the Prince, who was highly pleased and cried out, "What of one [inmate of my harem]? Immediately take with yourself in the *palki* in which you have come both of them, as I have no

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objection!" The aunt sent a report of the facts to her husband by means of an eunuch. Saif Khan said, "Now no cover is left [for me to take refuge in]," and mounted and sent the *Bai* to the Prince without delay.

Text.—Ir. Ms. 20*a*-21*a*.

Notes.—There are many mistakes in the above account. Saif Khan who had married Malika Banu (not Saliha), the eldest sister of Mumtaz Mahal, was removed from the governorship of Khandesh at Shah Jahan's accession (1628) and never again employed there. Malika died on 25th August, 1641 (Ab. Hamid's *Pad.* ii. 241). Her husband, Saif Khan Mirza Safi (*M.U.* ii. 416—421), died in Bengal in May, 1640 (Ab. Hamid's *Pad.* ii. 198).

The following version of the episode given in the *Masir-ul-Umara*, seems to be the correct one :—

Mir Khalil, (successively surnamed Muftakhar Khan, Sipahdar Khan, and Khan-i-Zaman), a son-in-law of Asaf Khan, was sent to the Deccan as Chief of the Artillery in the 23rd year of Shah Jahan, 1649—50. (Text has 30th or 3rd year. Both dates wrong, *vide M.U.* iii. 501). In 1653, he became commandant of Dharoor. It was only in Aurangzib's reign that he became Subahdar of Khandesh [July 1681. Died July 1684. (*M.A.* 246)] Zainabadi, who was beloved by Aurangzib before his accession, had been, it is said, in the Khan's harem as his concubine. One day the Prince went with the ladies of his harem to the garden of Zainabad Burhanpur, named *Ahu-khanah* [Deer Park] and began to stroll with his chosen beloved ones. Zainabadi, whose musical skill ravished the senses, and who was unique in blandishments, having come in the train of Khan-i-Zaman's wife (the Prince's maternal aunt), on seeing a fruit-laden mango tree, in mirth and amorous play advanced, leaped up and plucked a fruit, without paying due respect to the Prince's presence. This move of hers robbed the Prince of his senses and self-control. With shameful importunity he procured her from his aunt's house, and became infatuated and

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given up to her, in spite of all his severe continence and temperance and pure training in theology. The story goes that one day she offered him a cup of wine and requested him to drink it. All his professions of reluctance and entreaty were disregarded. Then the poor Prince (at last) prepared to drink it, but that sly enchantress snatched away the cup (from his hand) and said 'My purpose was to test your love and not to embitter your mouth with this wicked and unlucky liquor!' This love-affair proceeded to such lengths as to reach Shah Jahan's ears. Dara Shukoh, who loved not Aurangzib, made capital of this incident to slander his brother to the Emperor, saying, 'See the piety and abstinence of this hypocritical knave! He has gone to the dogs for the sake of a wench of his aunt's household.' By chance the rose of her life withered in its very spring time, and left the Prince seared with the brand of eternal separation. She is buried at Aurangabad close to the big tank. On the day of her death the Prince became very unwell; in extreme agitation he rode out to hunt. Mir Askari (Aqil Khan), who was in attendance, secured a private audience and remonstrated, "What wisdom is there in resolving to hunt in this (disturbed) state?" The Prince replied, (*Verse*)

'Lamentation in the house cannot relieve the heart,
In the solitude alone you can cry to your heart's content.'

Aqil Khan recited the following couplet [of his own composition] as apt for the occasion:

'How easy did love appear, but alas how hard it is!
How hard was separation, but what repose it gave to the beloved!'

The Prince could not check his tears, but committed the verses to his memory, (*M.U.* i. 790-792) after vainly trying to learn the modest poet's name. (*Ibid.* ii. 823).—

Now, when did the episode happen? Aurangzib was twice Subahdar of the Deccan, *viz.*, 1636—1644 and 1653—1657. It was only during the second of these periods that this Khan-i-Zaman, Murshid Quli Khan Khurasani (*M.U.* iii. 493), and Mir Askari served in the Deccan. Therefore, the date seems to have been

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1653 at the earliest, when Aurangzib was 35 years old and the father of six children ; he was not exactly a passionate youth who might consider the world well lost for love.

Akbar made it a rule that the concubines of the Mughal Emperors should be named after the places of their birth or the towns in which they were admitted to the harem. (Waris's *Padishahnamah*, 45 *b*). Hence we have ladies surnamed Akbarabadi, Fatihpuri, Aurangabadi, Zainabadi, and Udaipuri. Zainabad is the name of a town near the bank of the Tapti opposite Burhanpur. In Inayatullah's *Ahkam* (131 *a*) our heroine's tomb is mentioned, though her name is wrongly given as Zainpuri.

§ 6. Aurangzib's precautions in beginning the War of Succession.

At the time when Aurangzib left Aurangabad in order to fight Dara Shukoh, and encamped at Arsul, four miles from the city, he ordered that there would be a halt of ten days there in order that his men might get their remaining needments ready. Nobody else durst remonstrate with him. Only Najabat Khan, who was a friend of firm fidelity and great boldness, said, "Stating the intention to march and then ordering a halt in this manner, will embolden the enemy." Aurangzib smiled and said, "First, tell me of the manner of their being emboldened, and then I shall give you my answer." The Khan replied, " When the enemy will hear of our long halt here, they will send a strong force to bar our path." Aurangzib said, " That is the very essence of policy. If I march quickly I shall have to encounter the whole army [of Dara at one place]. But if I delay here, my struggle will be with the first division [of the enemy's

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force]. It is easier to defeat the first division than to defeat the whole army. In case he himself [*i.e.* Dara] boldly comes on, and crosses the Narmada, his condition will be this: (*Verse*)

The man who goes far from his asylum and home
Becomes helpless, afflicted, and forsaken.
In the water even the lion becomes the prey of fishes,
On dry land the crocodile becomes the food of ants.

This delay is for the above purpose and not for whiling away my time. Nay more, there is another object, to which the advantage already mentioned is subordinate (or corollary). This second object is that I may know the circumstances of the men accompanying me, both poor and rich; if a man delays inspite of his being well-to-do, then it is better not to take him along any further from this place, because in future this state of things will cause a total failure. In case I make a quick march, those nobles whose sincerity is doubtful may show negligence and delay, and then the distance [from my base] being great, it will be impossible to remedy the evil, and I shall have either to helplessly leave them in their negligence or to return and correct them."

When Najabat Khan heard this, he kissed Aurangzib's feet and cried out, "**God knows best where to send one on a prophetic mission.**"

The above blessed saying was verified by this fact that Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan, one of the officers appointed to the Deccan, did not come* with Aurangzib

* Ir. Ms. reads *came*.

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during the first day's march, and on the second day's march he submitted, "In consideration of my being a servant of Shah Jahan, I have no help but to remain here as a private person (*faqir*.) I have no connection with Dara Shukoh. One of my daughters has been married to you and another to Murad Bakhsh. I have no relationship with Dara Shukoh which it might be necessary for me to respect. Your Highness knows well that I have not shown, in any battle or halt, any shortcoming or holding back which may be attributed to cowardice or disloyalty."

Aurangzib replied, "Indeed, the claim of fidelity to salt is not distant from men of pure blood [like you]. But assemblies are being held here; I wish to see you [daily] for some days, and shall give you leave to depart when I resume my march. What need is there that you should turn *faqir*?" Shah Nawaz Khan said, "This, too, is opposed to a servant's duties. It is Shah Jahan's business to cherish his old servants."

After this Aurangzib gave out that he was down with looseness of the bowels. The nobles who came to pay the [customary] visit to the sick, were ordered to enter alone and one by one, leaving their attendants outside. Thus, on the second day, when Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan came, Shaikh Mir promptly arrested him, tied him hand and neck, and placed him handcuffed and chained on the *hawdah* of an elephant. That very moment Aurangzib gave the order to march. After reaching Burhanpur, Shah Nawaz Khan was imprisoned.

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After the victory over Dara Shukoh, at the entreaty of Zebunnissa Begam,—who had abstained from food for three days, saying that she would keep fasting till her maternal grandfather was released,—Aurangzib with anger and displeasure ordered him to be set free and appointed him Governor of Ahmadabad, which province had been without a Governor since Murad Bakhsh left it. But Aurangzib said, "My mind is not free from anxiety [about him]. I have issued this order under compulsion, but I shall reconsider it carefully afterwards. As he is a Syed, it is hard to order his execution. Otherwise, there is the well-known saying, 'A severed head tells no tale.'"

What he had said did finally come to pass. After Dara's flight, the Khan joined him in the battle of Ajmir and was slain in the midst of the fight.

Text.—Ir. Ms. 25 *a*—26 *b*.

Notes.—Aurangzib started from Aurangabad on 5th February, 1658 to contest the throne. At Arsul, 4 miles N. E. of the city, he halted for one day only. (*Alamgirnamah*, 43-44). But a halt of one month (18th Feb—20th March) was made at Burhanpur. "Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi did not accompany Aurangzib, but lingered at Burhanpur under various pretexts. So the prince on reaching Manduah (25th March) sent Muhammad Sultan and Shaikh Mir back to Burhanpur to arrest and confine Shah Nawaz Khan in the fort of Burhanpur" (*Ibid*, 52). Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, the father-in-law of Aurangzib, was a Syed of very high pedigree. (Life in *M. U.* ii. 670). At the end of September Aurangzib from Multan ordered his release and appointed him Subahdar of Guzerat. Slain in the battle of Ajmir, 14th March, 1659. (*A. N.* 209, 323.)

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§ 7. Battle of Khajwah.

On the night preceding the day which had been fixed for the battle with Shuja, when about $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours of the night had worn on, the Emperor learnt that Rajah Jaswant Singh, who had been given the command of the Van, had determined to go over to Shuja with his own troops who numbered 14,000 cavalry and infantry, and that during his journey he had laid a severe hand on (*i.e.*, looted) the followers and animals of the Imperial Camp, so that the orderly arrangement of the army had been broken up, and a great panic had seized the men, many of whom had joined this wretch's (Jaswant's) force and were advancing with him in the path of misfortune. The Emperor was then engaged in the *tahajjud* prayer; on hearing the report he made a sign with his hand [as if to say] 'If he has gone away, let him go away,' but gave no other reply. After finishing his prayer, he summoned Mir Jumla and said, "This incident, too, is a mercy from God, for if the hypocrite had taken this step in the midst of the battle, it would have been hard to remedy the mischief."

Then he ordered the kettledrums to be beaten and his mount to be got ready. Riding an elephant, he passed the rest of the night in that condition.

When the sun rose it was found that the army of Shuja was coming on from the left side firing its artillery.* A number of men, whose day of death had

*MS. N. reads differently: "It was found that the force with Aurangzib was not even one-fourth of Shuja's army. There was a short artillery-fight. He (Shuja or Aurangzib?) came on from the left side with his own Vanguard."

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arrived, were slain. Aurangzib ordered the driver of his elephant, "Make my elephant reach Shuja's elephant by any means that you can." Just then Murshid Quli Khan, who was the Emperor's counsellor and close companion, said, "This kind of audacity is opposed to the practice of emperors." Aurangzib replied, "Neither of us has yet become emperor. Men become emperors only after showing this sort of daring. And if after one has become emperor his courage decreases, his authority does not last. (*Verse*)

"That man [alone] can clasp tightly in his arms the bride of kingship

Who plants kisses on the keen sword's lip."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 4*b*—5*a*, Ms. N. 33*a*—34*b*.

Notes.—The battle of Khajwah took place on 5th January, 1659, and ended in the utter rout of Shuja. For a full account of the battle see *History of Aurangzib*, ch. 19. Murshid Quli Khan, Khurasani, (*Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 493—500), the able revenue administrator of the Deccan during Aurangzib's viceroyalty was slain in the battle of Dharmat, and so could not have been present at Khajwah. The other Murshid Quli Khan, Nawab of Bengal, entered the Imperial service long afterwards. *Tahajjud*, the last prayer of the night, is usually said after midnight.

§ 8. Aurangzib's last will and testament.

"Praise be to God and blessing on those servants [of Him] who have become sanctified and have given satisfaction [to Him]. I have [some instructions to leave as my] last will and testament:

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FIRST,—On behalf of this sinner sunk in iniquity [*i.e.*, myself] cover [with an offering of cloth] the holy tomb of Hasan **(on him be peace !)**, because those who are drowned in the ocean of sin have no other protection except seeking refuge with that Portal of Mercy and Forgiveness. The means of performing this great auspicious act are with my noble son, Prince Alijah; take them.

SECOND,—Four rupees and two annas, out of the price of the caps sewn by me, are with Aia Beg, the *mahaldar*. Take the amount and spend it on the shroud of this helpless creature. Three hundred and five rupees, from the wages of copying the Quran, are in my purse for personal expenses. Distribute them to the faqirs on the day of my death. As the money got by copying the Quran is regarded with respect by the Shiah sect†, do not spend it on my shroud and other necessaries.

THIRD,—Take the remaining necessary articles from the agent of Prince Alijah; as he is the nearest heir among my sons, and on him lies the responsibility of the lawful or unlawful [practices at my funeral]; this helpless person (*i.e.*, Aurangzib) is not answerable for them, because the dead are at the mercy of the survivors.

FOURTH,—Bury this wanderer in 'the Valley of Deviation from the Right Path' with his head bare,

† The reading in MS. N. may be taken to mean, "As the money got by copying the Quran is suspected by the Shiah sect to be an unlawful [kind of wealth]."

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because every ruined sinner who is conducted bare-headed before the Grand Emperor (*i.e.*, God), is sure to be an object of mercy.

FIFTH,—Cover the top of the coffin on my bier with the coarse white cloth called *gazi*. Avoid the spreading of a canopy and innovations like [processions of] musicians and the celebration of the Prophet's Nativity (*maulud*).

SIXTH,—It is proper for the ruler of the kingdom (*i.e.*, my heir) to treat kindly the helpless servants who in the train of this shameless creature [Aurangzib] have been roving in the deserts and wilderness [of the Deccan]. Even if any manifest fault is committed by them, give them in return for it gracious forgiveness and benignant over-looking [of the fault].

SEVENTH,—No other nation is better than the Persians for acting as clerks (*mutasaddi*). And in war, too, from the age of the Emperor Humayun to the present time, none of this nation has turned his face away from the field, and their firm feet have never been shaken. Moreover, they have not once been guilty of disobedience or treachery to their master. But, as they insist on being treated with great honour, it is very difficult to pull on well with them. You have anyhow to conciliate them, and should employ subterfuges.

EIGHTH,—The Turani people have ever been soldiers. They are very expert in making charges, raids, night-attacks and arrests. They feel no suspicion, despair or shame when commanded to make a retreat

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in the very midst of a fight, which means, in other words, 'when the arrow is drawn back';—and they are a hundred stages remote from the crass stupidity of the Hindustanis, who would part with their heads but not leave their positions [in battle]. In every way, you should confer favours on this race, because on many occasions these men can do the necessary service, when no other race can.

NINTH,—You should treat the Syeds of Barha, who are worthy of blessing, according to the Quranic verse, **'Give unto the near relations [of the Prophet] their dues,'** and never grow slack in honouring and favouring them. In as much as, according to the blessed verse, **'I say I do not ask of you any recompense for it except love to [my] kinsmen'**, love for this family is **the wages of [Muhammad's] Prophetship,** you should never be wanting [in respect for them], and it will bear fruit in this world and the next. But you should be extremely cautious in dealing with the Syeds of Barha. Be not wanting in love of them at heart, but externally do not increase their rank, because a strong partner in the government soon wants to seize the kingship for himself. If you let them take the reins ever so little, the result will be your own disgrace.

TENTH,—As far as possible the ruler of a kingdom should not spare himself from moving about; he should avoid staying in one place, which outwardly gives him repose but in effect brings on a thousand calamities and troubles.

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ELEVENTH,—Never trust your sons, nor treat them during your life-time in an intimate manner, because, if the Emperor Shah Jahan had not treated Dara Shukoh in this manner, his affairs would not have come to such a sorry pass. Ever keep in view the saying, **'The word of a king is barren.'**

TWELFTH,—The main pillar of government is to be well informed in the news of the kingdom. Negligence for a single moment becomes the cause of disgrace for long years. The escape of the wretch Shiva took place through [my] carelessness, and I have to labour hard [against the Marathas] to the end of my life, [as the result of it].

Twelve is blessed [among numbers]. I have concluded with twelve directions. (*Verse*)

If you learn [the lesson], a kiss on your wisdom,

If you neglect it, then alas! alas!

Text.—In Ms. 8*b*—10*a*. Ms. N. 1*b*—3*b*, incomplete, ends with the 9th clause.

Notes.—Alijah was the title conferred by Aurangzib on his sons Muazzam and Azam. The latter is evidently meant here, as he was with the Emperor shortly before his death.

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SECTION II.

ABOUT HIS SONS AND GRANDSONS.

A. Bahadur Shah (Muazzam).

§ 9. Arrest of Prince Muazzam.

WHEN the Emperor called for Prince Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah, intending to imprison him, he came to the Emperor in the chapel. His Majesty told Bakhtawar Khan, the Superintendent of the Perfume Department, "Bring every essence *(atar)* that my son wishes for." Bahadur Shah submitted, "What power has this slave to make any choice himself? Any essence that your Majesty may be graciously pleased to present would be better [than one of my selection]." The Emperor replied, "This order of mine is also an act of grace." Then Bahadur Shah told Bakhtawar Khan, "Any essence that you have, except the essence of scented wax *(atar-i-fitna)*, is good." His Majesty cried out, "Yes, I too, having the same prudential consideration in my mind, have put you to trouble in this house." When the essence arrived, he ordered the Prince to put off his arms and come nearer, in order that the Emperor might, with his own hand, rub him over with the essence. After the perfuming, when the Prince went [back] to make his bow [of thanks-giving], the Emperor went away, ordering Muharram Khan, with the help of Hamid-ud-din Khan, to disarm the four sons of the Prince, and detain all the five there. As

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they went up first of all to Muhammad Muizuddin, the latter laid his hand on the hilt of his sword. Bahadur Shah in anger cried [to his son], "Wretch, you are resisting the order of your Centre of Faith and K'aba (*i.e.*, His Sacred Majesty)!" With his own hands he tore off his [eldest] son's arms and gave them up to Muharram Khan. The other sons without objection stripped off their arms and surrendered them.

When the Emperor heard of it, he said, "The chapel has taken the place of the Well of Joseph, and he will attain to the dignity of Joseph."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 7*a*.

Notes.—Price Muazzam, afterwards Emperor Bahadur Shah I, was imprisoned by Aurangzib on 20th February, 1687, and released on 9th May, 1695, when he was sent to Agra as Governor. The *Masir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 294) gives a slightly different account of the manner of his arrest. The Bakhtawar Khan of this anecdote could not have been the author of the *Mirat-i-alam* (who died on 9th February, 1695), but was evidently Khwajah Bakhtawar, created a Khan in April, 1705. There is a play upon the word *fitna*, which means (1) scented wax and (2) disturbance, tumult. The Kaba is the square temple of black stone at Mecca, towards which Muslims turn their faces when praying. Joseph, the son of Jacob, was flung into a dry well by his wicked brothers, and then sold as a slave to some merchants going to Egypt, and this calamity was the means of his future greatness as the Prime Minister of Egypt. (*Genesis*, XXXVII. 24).

§ 10. Wise Counsels for Kings.

On the day when the Emperor released Bahadur Shah from captivity, he made him sit down in his presence and told him, "As a father like me has been pleased with you, the crown will certainly fall to your

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lot. I had no need to satisfy *my* father Shah Jahan, as he was devoted to Dara Shukoh, who had become the comrade of Hindus and infidel *yogis* (ascetics). It is simply the assistance of the faith of the Syed among Prophets, *i.e.*, Muhammad, **(on whom be blessings and peace!)** that is the cause of victory.* Some counsels I am going to give you; you should lay them to heart. Although I know it for certain that it is far from your nature to put them into practice, yet I am speaking out of paternal affection and in view of the love and obedience which you have shown.

'FIRST,—an Emperor ought to stand midway between gentleness and severity. If either of these two qualities exceeds the other, it becomes a cause of the ruin of his throne, because in case of excessive gentleness, the people display audacity, while the increase of harshness scarces away hearts, *e.g.*, my uncle Sultan Ulugh Beg, in spite of his graces and good qualities, was fearless in shedding blood, so that for petty offences he ordered executions. His son, Abdul Latif, made him prisoner and sent him to the Fort of Nahawand. On the way he asked a man, 'What do you think was the cause of the fall of my royal power?' The man answered, 'On account of your bloodshed, which made men shrink from you.' What my august ancestor the Emperor Humayun displayed was improper negligence, forgiveness, and weakness in affairs, because, in spite of his repeatedly hearing of the audacious deeds of Shir Khan in the province of Bengal, he acted with careless-

* Text has 'advice' which makes no sense. I read *nusrat* for *nasihat*.

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ness [towards Shir Khan], and only rebuked his father, Hasan Sur, saying 'You know of your son's acts and yet you do not write to him [to remonstrate]!' Hasan replied, 'His acts have passed beyond the stage of writing. I know not what your Majesty's negligence will at last result in.'

"NEXT this,—an emperor should never allow himself to be fond of ease and inclined to retirement, because the most fatal cause of the decline of kingdoms and the destruction of royal power is this undesirable habit. Always be moving about, as much as possible. *(Verse)*

It is bad for both emperors and water to remain at the same place,
The water grows putrid and the king's power slips out of his control.
In touring lie the honour, ease, and splendour of kings,
The desire of comfort and happiness makes him untrustworthy.

"NEXT this,—always plan how to train your servants, and appoint every one to the task for which you deem him fit. It is opposed to wisdom to order a carpet-weaver to do the work of blacksmith. Don't impose the task of the old on the young, nor that of the young on the old, because elderly people feel ashamed in doing the work of youngmen, and the young have not the capacity of doing the work of the old, so that utter disorder prevails in the affairs of the State."

Text.—Ir. Ms. *7a*—*8a*.

Notes.—Mirza Ulugh Beg, a grandson of Timur, and the learned author of Astronomical Tables, was king of Samarqand till 1449, when he was deposed and murdered by his son Abdul Latif.

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§ 11. **Advice to his Heir. Gloomy Prophecy.**

When the Emperor released Prince Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah from confinement, he conferred favours and gifts on him, and, on the day of giving him leave to depart, said, "Although out of sheer necessity and force [of circumstances] I have punished your extremely ruinous acts by keeeping you in prison for some years, yet, this is the strongest sign of [your future] kingship, as the fortune and dignity of Joseph were conditional on his being [first] imprisoned. God willing, the same process will take place in your case. In this hope I have in my lifetime entrusted to you [the governorship of] paradise-like Hindustan.

"The presages of my horoscope,—composed by Fazil Khan Ala-ul-mulk, [and giving the incidents] from the day of my birth till after my death,—have all been verified by actual experience.† In that horoscope it is written that after me‡ will come an Emperor, ignorant, narrow-minded, overpowered by injuries,—whose words will be all imperfect and whose plans will be immature. He will act towards some with so much prodigality as almost to drown them, and towards others with so much rigour as to raise the fear of [utter] decline. All these admirable qualities and praiseworthy characteristics are found in your nature! Although I shall send [? or leave]

† One example of the correctness of the horoscope is given in *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 529.

‡ The translation here follows the Ir. MS. But MS. N. reads, "After this reign, which is the divider of the life of *Samak-i-ramih* and *Samak-i-a'zal* (two portions of the constellation Leo) and is situated at the most conspicuous place of the degree of ascendency, an emperor shall come, &c."

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behind me a very competent *wazir* who has come to the front in my reign and whom I have secured, yet what good will it do, as the four pillars of the empire, *viz.* my four sons, will never leave that poor man to himself to do his work? In spite of this being the case, [he] ought still to exert [himself] that the work [of administration] may on the whole be well done. But it is a rule of medicine that although the lower limbs of the body may retain their strength so long as the bad humour does not descend from the upper parts of the body, in the end the disease turns into [general] weakness and slackness, may even into disorder and decline. In this matter, too, the same is the case. Although owing to my marching through wildernesses and forests, my officers, who love repose and feel disgusted with their own parents, long for the destruction of this my borrowed life,—yet after my death they will, owing to the thoughtlessness and ignorance of this son incapable of appreciating merit, demand for themselves that very thing (*viz.*, death) which they are now praying for me. Any how, I advise you, out of a father's love, 'Don't be so salt that [your subjects] would spit you out of their mouths, nor be so sweet that they may gulp you down.' But this advice is out of place here, as saltishness is not at all present in your nature, but is the share of your dear brother. The portion of saltlessness is the lot of you, my very sagacious son. May God keep both the brothers in perfect moderation! Amen, O Lord of the Universe!"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 19*b* & 20*a*, Ms. N. 21*b*—23*a*.

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Notes.—Aurangzib's favourite *wazir* was Asad Khan. Fazil Khan (Mulla Ala-ul-mulk Tuni), a versatile scholar, was Shah Jahan's *Khansaman.* (Life in *M.U.* iii. 524—530).

§ 12. **Infringement of Royal Prerogative.**

From the news-letter of Kabul the Emperor learnt that Prince Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah had at the time of his holding Court ordered four drums to be beaten. The Emperor wrote, "The Prime Minister should write to the Prince a 'Letter By Order' to this effect:—In the place of four drums you should beat four tabors, because it is the prerogative of Emperors alone to beat kettledrums while holding Court. When God gives you [the throne], you will [enjoy these Imperial rights]. Why this impatience?"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 3*b*. Ms. N. 9*b*-10*a*.

Notes.—Prince Muazzam ascended the throne as Bahadur Shah I in 1707. He was appointed by his father Subahdar of Afghanistan in May, 1698.

§ 13. **Infringement of Royal Prerogative.**

From the letter of the courier (*harkarah*) of the province of Afghanistan, the Emperor learnt that Prince Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah performed the traditional prayers after setting up canvas screens (*kanat*) in the Cathedral Mosque. On the sheet of the letter Aurangzib wrote, "Verily this matter is not unconnected with fear and cowardice, which are traits of this son's character. Inspite of such cowardice, he ought to have a little fear of *me*, too. How did he dare to do a thing which is the special prerogative of kings? The late Emperor Shah Jahan was very negligent

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towards his sons, so that matters came to a pass that is notorious." On the margin the Emperor wrote, "The *nazir* (of Kabul) is dismissed from his post and reduced in rank by a hundred troopers, as he has not written a single syllable about this affair. Muharram Khan should recommend another *nazir*. Entirely change the *jagirs* of the news-writer and reporter [of Kabul]. I have not degraded them in rank as they may be of service in future. The courier (*harkarah*) should quickly make another inquiry and write about the facts. If it is true, the Prince should be removed from the governorship and summoned to my presence."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 10*a* & *b*., not in Ms. N.

§ 14. Royal Prerogative Infringed.

The Emperor learnt from the letter of the *nazir* of Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah that when the Prince was issuing from the *Chakla* of Sarhind he whispered something into the ears of the Superintendent of the elephants which the writer could not catch. When they had advanced 8 miles from the [last] halting place, a fight took place between two infuriated elephants. The Prince himself stopped with his troops and camp-followers and witnessed the fight; afterwards the drivers of the two elephants separated them from each other and continued the journey. But in this combat neither of the elephants had hurt or trodden down any person.

On the sheet the Emperor wrote, "The first statement was due to fear for his life, as concealment [of the matter] was possible. The second statement, that 'neither

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of the elephants had hurt anybody,' displays the shame of avarice which makes people blind and dumb. The Chief Paymaster should reduce the *nazir's* rank by 200 and change his *jagir* in proportion to the reduction in his rank. The Prime Minister should write to the foolish Prince a 'Letter by Order' in the place of a *farman*, saying, 'Ordering an elephant-fight is the exclusive prerogative of kings. By these useless and unprofitable longings you cannot get the crown sooner. When the time comes and fortune befriends you, you will be king. What ruins a man is demanding more than his lot and before the ordained time. Why do you [by such assumption of royalty] make me angry and yourself afflicted?"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 11*a* & *b*, Ms. N. 21*a* & *b*.

§ 15. Royal Prerogative Infringed.

From the news-letter of the province of Kabul the Emperor learnt that Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah, on the days that he held Court, used to sit on a platform standing one yard above the ground. The Emperor wrote on the sheet (*Verse*)

It is not by mere wishing that our works are done.
God's grace is required in every work.
You cannot secure the seat of great ones by [mere] rash acts,
Unless you have gathered together all the materials for greatness.

It is very strange that the confinement of so many years has not reformed the presumptuous mind of this proud and foolish [Prince]. Two strict macebearers should be sent to make him get down from his seat in open Court, and to dismantle the platform. If they

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arrive [at Kabul] when he is not holding Court, they should wait till he does so, and then carry out my order, **as a recompense for that which they do.** The late Emperor Shah Jahan showed so much leniency and negligence towards his sons that the independent chief of affairs was turned upside down.

Text:—Ir. Ms. 21*b*.

§ 16. Suspicious watching of his sons.

Hamida Bánu, the superintendent (*mahaldár*) of the harem of Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah, from the province of Multan petitioned the Emperor, "Very often at night in the Prince's private chamber, where his beloved ones come, he takes with himself his pen-case and memorandum-book. Out of regard for etiquette it is not allowed by the Court regulations that the *mahaldar* or her deputy should be present at that time. When your Majesty gave this old slave woman [the writer] her congee you told her orally, and you also inserted it in a [subsequent] royal letter, that whenever the Prince would call for his pen-case this old bondmaid or her deputy Sharf-un-nissa should be present. These are the facts. What order in this matter?"

The Emperor wrote in answer, "If you cannot in etiquette go to the Prince's private chamber, what etiquette is there in your refusing to send him the pen-case? In any case in future do not at all leave the pen-case in the inner apartments. I have also sent an order to the *nazir* that whenever the Prince in the outer apart-

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ments needs [writing materials] he should produce the pen-case, so that the Prince may keep it with himself only till the necessary signatures are finished; thereafter the *nazir* should keep it under his own seal. Tell my foolish son that his captivity for so many years has not made him wise, as he has taken such audacious steps! Even now the matter has not gone out [of my hand]. Distance cannot prevent [me from] punishing [him]. (*Verse*)

Here is the polo-ball, and here is the field,
You inconsiderate, utterly ignorant man."

Text.—Ms. N. 20*a* 6—20*b* 12.

Notes.—Prince Muazzam after having been confined by his father from 1687, was finally released in 1695, and on 13th July, 1696, went to Multan as Governor, (*M.A.* 382.) Here he remained for two years, nominally a Viceroy, but still watched by his jealous father's spies. The *mahaldar* was the highest female servant and controlled the harem,—a sort of female *major domo*. She evidently acted as a spy in the interests of the Emperor.

B. Azam Shah

§ 17. The Capitulation of Parli.

The siege of the fort of Parli had continued for four months, and then the rainy season approached. It was usual in that part for the rains to be accompanied by hail-storms. The soldiers were in consequence greatly alarmed. Shaikh Sadullah Khan submitted to the Emperor, through Muharram Khan, "If the Emperor's son Ali-jah is not displeased, peace can be made in a day." His Majesty said, "Wait to-day; the answer will be given to-morrow." At the end of the

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day it became known that the Prince had an intolerable aversion to making peace, and that the Shaikh had arranged for the surrender of the fort on the sole condition that the commandant and the garrison should go out [freely] without any property. The Emperor said, "Make the agreement complete, so that immediately on my giving the order, the Imperial flag may be planted on the fort without any delay." As he ordered, so the matter was settled.

Next day, when holding the morning Court, His Majesty said to Prince Alijah, "I have to show consideration for your feelings. Otherwise, making peace is not so very difficult. Others, too, may accomplish it." The Prince replied, "I agree to any method by which your Majesty's work can be done." The Emperor rejoined, "But you will afterwards feel aggrieved!" The Prince answered, "What power has this slave to be displeased with his holy guide and preceptor?" and then [after a pause] he asked, "Who is this man, the instrument for making peace?" "Shaikh Sadullah" answered His Majesty. The Prince said, "Let an order be issued to bring Shaikh Sadullah to the presence." The Emperor told Muharram Khan, "Send word to the Shaikh to plant the flag quickly on the fort." After two *gharis* the flag was set up there and the music of victory was played. Prince Azam with extreme irritation and anger said, "We servants of your Majesty ought now to take poison, as these rascals (*paji*) have become your companions." The Emperor answered,

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"I have indeed cherished rascals. Now I shall drive both the rascals out of my camp. Shaikh Sadullah will be sent to the Base Camp, and you to the Province of Ahmadabad (*i.e.*, Guzerat)". Then he ordered that Siadat Khan, the superintendent of the mace-bearers, with all the mace-bearers should accompany the Prince and make him reside at Sanpgaon, 3 *koses* from the Imperial army, without permitting the Prince to go back to his present quarters. Then His Majesty dropped the screen and retired from the Court. Prince Azam, in confusion and astonishment, entreated the mediation of Asad Khan, the *wazir*, who begged the Emperor to give the Prince two days' respite, that the rains might stop a little. His Majesty replied, "What business have my servants to say anything in the affairs of my sons?" Asad Khan felt ashamed of having made the request. However, the Prince with the mace-bearers took up his residence in his own quarters, and thence submitted to the Emperor, "Wax for making oil-cloth cannot be had." Aurangzib replied, "You may take some from the Imperial Government [stores] after paying the price." The Prince prayed that the price might be deducted from his cash stipend. The Emperor wrote [on the application], "No wise man leaves cash to be turned into credit,* for at the time of payment there is no knowing who will live and who will be dead. You

* Ms. N. reads, "It can't be. This is credit business, while I have written about cash payment. When the time for paying [the credit price] comes, there is no knowing &c."

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must pay the price in cash and take [the wax]." So, the Prince did as he was ordered; he sent Rs. 1,200 and got the wax.

Text.—Ir. Ms. 2*a*—3*a*, Ms. N. 39*a*—40*b*.

Notes.—The fort of Parli, which is described as 4 m. from Satara, was besieged by Aurangzib from 30th April to 9th June, 1700 (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 425—428). Prince Alijah was Muhammad Azam, the 3rd son of Aurangzib. Shaikh Sadullah was at one time the *musharraf* of the Emperor's personal attendants (*khawas*). Mace-bearers were somewhat like sergeants, and made arrests and carried out the Emperor's disciplinary orders.

§ 18. Strict Justice between a Prince and a Commoner.

Prince Muhammad Azam Shah wrote a letter to Inayatullah Khan with instructions to submit to the Emperor the purport of the letter and his requests. He stated therein, "Syed L'al, who has been holding a rank (*mansab*) in the Mughal service for three generations, drinks wine and does many kinds of irreligious practices (*bid'at*) in my *jagir* of Mandesor. The Emperor should order his *jagir* to be taken away from him and given to me, so that this evil may be put down." The Emperor wrote across the petition, "It is a novel and funny manner of appropriation to take on yourself a work which appertains to the Censor of Morals and to pray for the transfer of another's *jagir*. It is impossible to transfer a *jagir* held for one generation only,—what to speak of one enjoyed for three generations? I won't transfer anybody's *jagir* at the mere word of any other man. In being my servants this

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son and Syed L'al are exactly equal, while the latter, by reason of his being a Syed, is a thousand steps higher. The chief *Sadar* should write to the Censor of that place to enquire into the truth of the matter and report the details to me. Praised be God that I have not given my sons predominance as the Emperor Shah Jahan did, lest I should be put to disgrace [by them]."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 3*a*—3*b*, Ms. N. 8*b*—9*a* incomplete and confused.

Note.—Censor of Morals or *Muhtasib*, an officer appointed to see that the ordinances of Islam are strictly observed in private life.

§ 19. Be not too bold.

The Emperor learnt from the news-letter of the army of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah that he used to go incautiously towards the entrenchments in order to view the fort of Panhala. Although the *nazir* and the *mahaldar* forbade him, he did not mind their prohibition. The same thing was also reported to the Emperor in the letters of the *nazir* and the *mahaldar*.

His Majesty wrote, "I wonder at this son, on whom my society has produced no [educative] effect whatever! He is a thousand stages remote from caution and far-sightedness, and has not laid to heart the maxim **'Precaution is a suspicion of mischief,'** nor put to use the verse **'Don't thrust yourself with your own hands into destruction'.** (*Verse*)

A bird that is prudent in this garden of a world,
Suspects the rose for the claws of a royal falcon!
When a partridge flies without circumspection,
Blood drops from its visible wounds, as the result of its laughter.

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The society of the good does not turn a bad nature into good,
The almond retains its bitter kernel even in sugar.

Manliness does not consist in audacity and fearlessness but in breaking one's self (*i.e.* humility).

The perfection of manliness and humanity lies in
self-suppression.
Kiss the hand of the man who has broken this bow (*i.e.*, self)."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 18*a*—*b*.

Notes.—Panhala, 11 m. S.W. of Kolhapur. Aurangzib captured it after a siege lasting from 9th March to 28th May, 1701. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 430—439, *Khafi Khan*, ii. 476—490).

§ 20. Prince Azam punished for quarrelling with the Superintendent of his harem.

Bahroz Khan, the *nazir* of the *deorhi* of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah reported to the Emperor, "The Prince has behaved badly towards Nur-un-nissa, the *mahaldar*, so that he did not take her with himself [in his visits] to the Imperial garden at Ahmadabad. The *mahaldar* sent a letter outside [the harem to me] forbidding the Prince's journey. So, this slave (*i.e.* the writer) came and stopped the riding out of the Prince, in the absence of any order [from the Emperor]. The Prince expelled the *mahaldar* from his assembly (*majlis*)." The Emperor wrote this order:—"The *mansabdars* appointed [to that province] and Khwajah Quli Khan with his own troops and those of the Rajah of Narwar, should co-operate and prevent the Prince from riding out or giving audience, pending the arrival of order from me."

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Next day, when the Prince got news of it, he sent a petition through his sister, Padishah Begam, begging pardon for his offences, and enclosing an agreement to a compromise sealed with the seals of the *nazir* and the *mahaldar*. On the petition the Emperor wrote:—"I refrain from transferring your *mahals* (*i. e.*, *jagir*). But if no pecuniary punishment is inflicted, you will retain the audacity to do this sort of work again. Fifty thousand rupees should be taken from the cash salary of this shortsighted, base-minded and foolish son, into the public treasury as punishment for this offence."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 4*a* & *b*, Ms. N. 5*a* & *b*.

Notes.—Prince Azam was Subahdar of Guzerat from the middle of 1701 to September, 1705. Padishah Begam was the title of his sister Zinat-un-nissa.

§ 21. Maintain peace on the highways.

From the report of the province of Ahmadabad, of which Muhammad Azam Shah was the Governor, the Emperor learnt—"Janaji Dalia, a commander of the enemy [*i.e.*, Marathas], had plundered some merchants on the highway of Surat, at a place 80 miles from Ahmadabad. This matter had become known to the Prince Shah Alijah [*i.e.*, Azam] from the news brought by a courier; but he had said, 'It has occurred within the *faujdari* of Amanat Khan, the collector of Surat; I have no concern with it'."

On the sheet of the report the Emperor wrote,—"Decrease five thousand from the real rank of the

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Prince, and take from his agents money corresponding to the [loss] reported by the merchants. If it had been an officer other than a Prince, this order would have been issued after an inquiry. For a Prince the punishment is the absence of investigation. Bravo for your Princeship, that you consider yourself lower than Amanat Khan! As in my life-time you have a claim to inherit the empire, why then do you not make Amanat Khan a sharer of your heritage? (*Verse*)

A malady that does not go away for medicine, has no cure.
A man who has not got wisdom, does not need any thing."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 22*b*, Ms. N. 26*b*—27*a*.

Note.—Is Dalia a mistake for Dulway, a Maratha family name?

§ 22. **Unintentional contempt of "Court" punished.**

One day when the Emperor was holding Court, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah stood up and made a request. At not getting a reply favourable to his desire, he grew angry and advanced so far that his foot touched the Emperor's seat (*masnad*). The Emperor in displeasure dropped the screen of the Court, went away, and forbade the Prince to come to the presence. Nobody else had the power to intercede with him; but Shah Salimullah, [a hermit] of Nandurbar, said to the Emperor, "That the Prince advanced his foot was not due to a spirit of daring, but to carelessness. **Of him who pardons and makes peace, the recompense is from God.**" Below the above [Quranic] verse the Emperor wrote,—

"From the bank of safety into the sea of destruction, fell
That man who set his steps beyond his own limits."

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Text.—Ir. Ms. 5*b*, Ms. N. 32*a* & *b*.

Note.—When the Emperor dropped a screen in front of his seat at a *darbar*, it was a sign that the Court was closed. Then he retired to the *harem* by a door at the back of his seat.

§ 23. The Emperor's repartee.

Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, owing to his levity of character and vileness of tongue, had likened His Majesty to the sweeper Jumma who used to serve in the Hall of Private Audience, and the matter had reached the Imperial ears. One day, while Jumma was sweeping the court-yard of the Private Audience Hall, the Emperror turned towards Azam Shah and said, "Baba! this sweeper has four sons." Azam Shah replied, "He has only one son, and that too a mere child." His Majesty rejoined, "Your statement is wrong. My information is even that one of these four sons has gone to Persia!" On hearing these words, the Prince understood the point [of the Emperor's speech] and was greatly ashamed. He complained to his sister, Zinat-un-nissa Begam, "His Majesty, utterly disregarding the consideration and honour due to my lady mother, has described Jumma sweeper as my father!" The Emperor retorted, "But, then, son! you showed no consideration and honour to Shah Jahan, when you described his late Majesty's son as the sweeper Jumma!"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 6*a*, Ms. N. 11*a* & *b*.

Note.—Only four sons of Aurangzib were alive at this time, and one of these, Prince Akbar, had fled to Persia after the failure of his rebellion in 1681.

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§ 24. Aurangzib keeps his sons at a distance.

Muhammad Azam Shah, who was Governor of Guzerat, petitioned thus,—"On account of the length of my illness, which was a quartan fever for a long time—though the disease has been totally removed for more than two months, I am still so weak that I cannot utter words. I pray for a transfer from this province to the Emperor's presence so that at all events I may, after attaining the blessing of kissing the Emperor's feet, give up my weak life."

The Emperor wrote, "May the True Protector watch over this fruit of my heart [=son] in all conditions! To allow you to travel and come to me in this state of weakness, would not be free from cruelty. (*Verse*)

He considers remembrance as higher than interview,
Thank God! my eyes are not ungrateful.

This weak old man and this shrunken helpless creature [Aurangzib] is afflicted with a hundred maladies besides anxiety [lit., headache], but he has made patience his habit. (*Verse*)

In the opinion of those who are ready for death
Every unseasonable trouble sent by fortune appears as a suitable favour.
I have no greed for disease, otherwise
Every disease allotted to me by the Invisible is a medicine.

While talking with my wicked and reprehensible passions, I say that with the exception of the heart, which is precious and worth protecting, the world and everything in it deserve to be left behind. Why have

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you bound [yourself] to the world and temporal things? Your heart is to be taken [with you to the next world], and the World and Time will have to be given up. (*Verse*)

Every [earthly] thing which you elevate will throw you into the dust.
Except the flow of tears, which is capable of elevating you [to heaven]."

Text.—Ms. N. 10*a* 5—10*b* 11.

Notes.—In April, 1693, Prince Azam at Cuddapah in Madras had a long and severe attack of dropsy, after which he was conveyed to the Court by order of the Emperor, 22nd October, 1693, (*MA*. 353, 361—363, *Khafi Khan*, ii. 434). But he was *not* then Governor of Guzerat. Khafi Khan, gives the following account of an application made by the Prince in 1705-6 to come from Guzerat and visit his father :—

"Prince Muhammad Azam, in Guzerat, on hearing of his father's illness, applied for permission to come to Court on the plea of the air and water of that province not being congenial to him. The Emperor was displeased and sent him a letter to this effect :—'I, too, had sent a similar petition to my father Shah Jahan during his illness [at the close of his reign], and he had replied to it by saying that the air of every place is agreeable to men except the wind of evil passions!'" (ii. 541). In the end the Emperor permitted Azam to come to Court, and he arrived there on 25th March, 1706. (*M.A*. 496, 512).

C. KAM BAKHSH.

§ 25. Kam Bakhsh placed under arrest.

The Emperor learnt from the letters of the *nazir* and news-writer with Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, —"After the capture of fort Jinji, Nusrat Jang Khan

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made a request to the Prince about marching and halting, in the spirit of caution, as there were more than 50,000 cavalry of the enemy around [the Mughal force]. The Prince displaying roughness answered, 'I have the power. I shall march whenever I like.' Till at last the matter passed into unpleasantness. The Khan gave up waiting on the Prince in his quarters, and interviewed him [only] when riding out. On Wednesday, the 9th Ziqada [=13th July, 1692] at noon when the Prince had dismounted in his own camp, he sent a slave to call the Khan, and the latter delayed to come. Four slaves came in succession. 'At this juncture the Khan's couriers (*harkarah*) brought him news that the Prince had formed a plan with his foster-brother to imprison the Khan. Also from the letter of the *nazir*, it became known that this report was true. The Khan called together the [news]-writers, took them as his witnesses, himself with Rao Dalpat Bundela went riding on elephants to inside the fence (*jali*) [of the Prince's quarters], and pulled down the Prince's Court-tent with the elephant's trunk. The Prince on seeing this, wanted to flee to his *harem*. But Rao Dalpat coming up seized both his hands, and pulling him by the sleeves dragged him to the elephant of the Khan, who made a sign to Dalpat to seat the Prince on his own elephant. So in that manner four marches were made, the Prince remaining with Rao Dalpat and staying in his tent day and night."

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After reading it, the Emperor wrote on the sheet. (*Verse*)

"A slave girl's son comes to no good
Even though he may have been begotten by a king.

What reforms could Noah **(on the prophets and on him be peace !)** effect in his disobedient son, that I can succeed [in the same work] ? Nusrat Jang Khan is not without wisdom. Whosoever speaks ill of him is himself a bad man. As for bringing this worthless [Prince], the leader of the wicked, let Nusrat Jang Khan accompany (*i.e.*, escort) him up to Bijapur, and thereafter entrust him to the Prime Minister. Send a *farman* to the Governor of Bijapur, to give him an escort of one thousand cavalry and send him to me. Nusrat Jang Khan should go to guard the newly conquered territory, such as fort Jinji and other places. When I send him a *farman*, he will come to me." On the margin of the petition, His Majesty wrote, "For the sake of a son who agreeably with the verse **'He is your enemy'**, has been proved and ascertained to be an enemy,—why should I quarrel with my friends, among whom a good servant is reckoned one ? Especially when that servant is a near kinsman, being the son of my maternal aunt, and deserving the friendly intercourse of kindred." [Ms. N. adds,—On the margin he wrote, " Plato has said, **' Your friends are three : the sharer of your salt (i.e., meals), the sharer of your danger, and the companion of your travels."**]

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Text.—Ir. Ms. 22*a* & *b*, Ms. N. 27*b*—29*a*.

Notes.—Kam Bakhsh, the youngest and petted son of Aurangzib and Udaipuri Mahal, (born 24 February, 1667), began the siege of Jinji on 16th Dec., 1691, the real commanders being Asad Khan and his son Nusrat Jang. The fort fell on 7th February, 1698. But in 1693 Kam Bakhsh, for his opposition to the two generals and intrigue with the enemy, was arrested and brought to the Court, 14th June. (*M.A.* 355-359, *Khafi Khan*, ii. 418—421, *M.U.* ii. 94 & i. 313, *Dilkasha*, 107*a et seq*).

D. BIDAR BAKHT (son of Azam Shah).

§ 26. **Bidar Bakht punished for neglect of duty.**

The Emperor learnt from the letter of the *nazir* accompanying Bidar Bakht Bahadur that he had at first greatly exerted himself to capture the fort of Sansani, belonging to Rajah Ram Jat, and that it became then known that he had sent a verbal message to the latter, which was evidently this that he should give his brother's daughter to the Prince and himself go out of the fort.

Across the sheet the Emperor wrote, "There is no harm. Giving a daughter is a mark of submission. He may go out of the fort, but where will he go outside the Imperial territory? But (*verse*)

What sort of man was he who was less than a woman?
A man submissive to women is worse than a woman.

The bringing up of children belongs to fathers and not to grandfathers. Prince Alijah (Muhammad Azam,) out of his weak nature and affection for Bidar Bakht's late mother, has brought matters to such a pass. To

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wise men a straitened condition which is [caused by] punishment in money is the greatest calamity and distress. For one year reduce his *jagir* by one-half and remove him from his rank (*mansab*)."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 21*b* & 22*a*; Ms. N. 27*a* & *b* differs a good deal, but only verbally.

Notes.—Muhammad Bidar Bakht, the son of Prince Muhammad Azam and Jahanzeb Banu Begam (the daughter of Dara), was born 4th August, 1670. All three of them were greatly loved by Aurangzib, and Bidar Bakht was the old Emperor's special favourite. With Khan-i-Jahan he led an expedition against Rajah Ram Jat, the rebel chief of Sansani, whom he defeated and slew, 4th July, 1688, (*M. A.* 311). Sansani was captured by him in January, 1690 (*M. A.* 334 *Khafi Khan*, ii. 395). It is now a station on the E. I. R. between Hathras and Aligarh.

'Late mother' is incorrect, as the lady died long afterwards, March, 1705. (*M. A.* 494).

§ 27. Quarrel between Bidar Bakht and his wife.

From the letter of the *nazir* accompanying Prince Bidar Bakht Bahadur, the Emperor learnt, "The Prince had always before shown the greatest affection and favour to Shams-un-nissa, the daughter of Mukhtar Khan. But now, contrary to his usual manner, he often treats her with displeasure, so that one day he said, 'The daughter of a rascal (*paji*) ought not to show such pride to princes.' At this Shams-un-nissa replied, 'If you like you may slay me, but I shall not speak to you again.' So from that day the Prince had given up speaking to her."

Across the sheet of the letter the Emperor wrote: (*Verse*)

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"At dawn the bird of the garden [nightingale] said to
the newly blossomed rose,
'Don't give yourself airs so much, because in this
garden many like you had budded.'
The rose laughed [saying], 'I am not displeased to
hear the truth, but
No lover ever spoke a bitter word to his beloved.'
(*Hafiz*).

Be it clear to this light of the eye [*i.e.*, grandson] that in the season of youth, which in the vile phraseology of his boon companions is styled 'mad youth,' I, too, had this relation with a person [wife] who had extreme self-will and stateliness, but to the end of her life I continued to love her and never once did I wound her feelings. Then again, to apply the term *paji* to the Syeds is simply to act like a *paji*. If a Syed is called a *paji*, it will not certainly make him a *paji*. If I do not learn from the letters of the *mahaldar* and the *nazir* that you have made it up with this Syed girl, you will meet with rebuke, nay more, with punishment. **[God shall give them] recompense for that which they were doing.**"

Text.—Ms. N. 23*b* 1-24*a* 5.

Notes.—Bidar Bakht, the son of Azam, and the favourite grandson of Aurangzib, was married to the daughter of Mukhtar Khan surnamed Puti Begam, on 21st Nov., 1686 (*M. A.* 284). A son, named Firuz Bakht was born to them on 23rd Aug., 1695 (*Ibid*, 374) Bidar Bakht's father-in-law was Qamruddin, the son of Shamsuddin, the son of Syed Muhammad, all three of them being successively entitled Mukhtar Khan (*M. U.* iii., 656). This family, the Ben-i-Mukhtar, enjoyed the greatest respect among the

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Muslims, and traced its descent from the Prophet, through Abul Mukhtar, *naqib* of Ali's Mashhad and *Amir-ul-haj*. One of its members migrated from Najaf to Sabzawar in Khurasan, hence their title of Sabzawari. (*M.U.* iii. 409).

Aurangzib is referring to his own married life. His wife Dilras Banu, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, (married 8th May, 1637, died 8th October, 1657,) must have been a very proud woman, if we can judge her character from that of her son, Muhammad Azam, who was incredibly vain and haughty.

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SECTION III.

ABOUT HIS OFFICERS.

§ 28. Humiliation of Nusrat Jang.

WHEN Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang, after the capture of Jinji, arrived within 4 *koses** of the Imperial camp at Parnala†, Sarbarah Khan, the *kotwal*, reported to the Emperor that an Imperial order had been issued [to Nusrat Jang] for the chastisement of the enemy [*i.e.*, the Marathas] roving in the direction of the Base Camp, and [yet] the Khan had arrived near the Imperial camp. The Emperor said, "Don't give him a pass to enter the lines of the army. Yar Ali Beg, who is the agent of Nusrat Jang, should write about this matter to him." Next morning he entered the Imperial encampment without a pass and demanded an order for admission to the Emperor's private audience. His Majesty ordered that Nusrat Jang should come to the presence with his quiver and pouch [of ammunition] fastened to his waist, his bow on his shoulders, and his musket in his hand, and that, contrary to the former practice, when his *palki* used to come to the network-fence (*jali*) of the Private Audience Hall, he would that day have to leave his *palki* inside the network-fence near the two *rawtis* (small square tents) of the Hall of

* Ms. N. reads *fourteen koses.*

† Ir. Ms. omits *at Parnala.*

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Private Audience. Yar Ali Beg wrote [to Nusrat Jang] fully about this angry order. The Khan dismounted at the *gulal-bar* (red canvas wall round the Imperial quarters), stripped off all weapons from his person, and wishing for an interview sat down by the *rawti* at the door of the Private Audience Hall, waiting for the order of his presentation. The Emperor passed two *gharis** without speaking of or attending [to Nusrat Jang], and then permitted him to enter. As he wished to kiss the Emperor's toes, His Majesty extended his right leg†. On account of his great confusion and agitation, Nusrat Jang's knees touched the cushion, (*masnad*) of the Emperor, who got displeased at it, but with extreme kindness and favour he laid his hand on the Khan's back and said, "You were absent for a long time and so have forgotten the etiquette of the Court. (*Verse*)

A crow turned its tail to the city and its head to the village ;
[Surely] the crow's tail was better than its head !"

Then the Emperor turned his face towards Bahramand Khan and said, "How can it be that servants brought up in my household would unlearn etiquette by reason of their going away from the Court? Evidently this Khan's eyesight has been affected." So he ordered Muharram Khan to bring a pair of spectacles and with his own hands place them on Nusrat Jang's nose, and also insisted that he should go to his quarters in that guise, and that as it was a gift from the Emperor he

* A *ghari* is 24 minutes.

† Ir. Ms. reads "Nusrat Jang extending his right leg."

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should for three days come to the *darbar* with the spectacles on, as was the rule about robes of honour.

When Nusrat Jang saw this disgrace, he, through the intercession of Amir Khan, the superintendent (*darogha*) of the emperor's personal servants (*khawas*) at night secured permission to depart for the punishment of the Marathas. After the *'isha* prayer he came with the spectacles on, had audience in the room where the Emperor counted his beads, and took his leave.

[*Text.*—Irvine Ms. 1*b*—2*a*, Ms. N. 37*b*.—39*a*.]

Notes.—Zulfiqar Khan, surnamed Nusrat Jang Bahadur, was a son of Aurangzib's prime minister Asad Khan. (Born 1657 A.D., executed in 1713). The fort of Jinji (or Gingee in the South Arcot District) capitulated to him on 7th February, 1698. Parnala (or Panhala) was besieged by Aurangzib from 9th March to 28th May, 1701. The Base Camp was at Islampuri on the Bhima river. Bahramand Khan was the chief paymaster, (died 5th November, 1702). Amir Khan was Mir Abdul Karim (son of Amir Khan Shah Jahani).

§ 29. Obey orders first.

Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang had by order gone in pursuit of Hanuwant [Rao], the wretched commander of the [Maratha] infidels. By chance he passed within four miles of the Imperial encampment. So, he petitioned, "As it has happened by chance that I have to pass close to the Emperor's army, I consider it a breach of etiquette to go away without waiting upon your Majesty." On the application the Emperor wrote, "Two things have been done by you contrary to good manners: first, why have you let the brigands pass

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close to the Imperial encampment? This act was not free from badness of conduct, nay it was likely to cause a disturbance. Secondly, by not engaging in the work entrusted to you and by making a request contrary to it, you have shown disobedience. **Obey God, obey the Prophet, and obey the commanders (kings) among you!"**

Text—Ir. Ms. 21 *a* & *b*.

§ 30. **Presumptuousness of a Deccani officer.**

From the news-letter of the army of Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat Jang, the Emperor learnt that Jang-ju Khan Deccani, who held the rank of a Commander of Five Thousand cavalry, had placed his kettledrums on buffaloes and in a mischievous spirit had ordered them to be carried side by side with the kettledrums of Nusrat Jang Khan on an equal footing. The Emperor wrote, "What harm does it do to me, and what objection has Nusrat Jang Khan to it? So long as this chief of the accursed and wretched tribe does not understand his own parading (*tashhir*), which is the height of disgrace, even if he carries his drums in advance of those of Nusrat Jang, it would be just what [we] desire! His marching abreast of Nusrat Jang, too, is no small disgrace to him."

Text—Ir. Ms. 3*b*—4*a*, not in Ms. N.

Notes—*Tashhir* is a mode of punishment in which a man is publicly disgraced by being paraded through a city or camp mounted on an ass and accompanied by noisy music, in parody of a royal procession.

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§ 31. Faithlessness of Deccani officers.

The letter-writer (*sawanih*) of Nusrat Jang reported to the Emperor that Zindan Khan Deccani, who had got the rank of Commander of Four Thousand in the roll (*zabita*) of the Deccan, used to sacrifice his life in the [military] service of the Emperor and hence it would be proper to confer a higher rank on him. Nusrat Jang Khan, too, wrote to the Emperor to the same effect. The Emperor wrote this order;—"The term 'sacrificing his life' is a mere piece of rhetoric and a flourish of the pen! If he repeatedly sacrificed his life, how is it possible for him to be alive still? To show favour to his race (*i.e.*, the Deccanis) is to take up a scorpion by the hand or to keep a serpent in the arms. **The people of Kufa are faithless.**"

Text—Ir. Ms. 4½, not in Ms. N.

Notes—This contempt for Deccani officers was unjust. It was a Deccani officer who, by great activity, courage and enterprise, captured Sambhaji. Kufa is a town in Asiatic Turkey, west of the Euphrates and east of Mashhad.

§ 32. Beware of the Syeds of Barha!

From the report of the province of Khandesh* the Emperor learnt that Syed Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur

* Mr. Irvine's original Ms. reads *Nader*, his copy of it *Ahmadabad*, and the Rampur Ms. *Tader*. Now, the father of Hasan Ali was appointed Faujdar of Nander (which, however, was not a province) in February, 1650 (*M.A.* 335). Hasan Ali's charge, the Faujdari of Nandurbar, was a part of Malwa and not of Guzerat (Ahmadabad). Nandurbar is described in *M.U.* iii. 131 as a part of Baglana, which last was situated between Khandesh on the east and Guzerat on the west. So, a report about his exploit might well have come from Khandesh. Hence my emendation.

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had shown great activity in fighting with Hanuwant, the general of the misbelievers [Marathas], sacked his base-camp (*bungah*), taken alive the brother's son of Janaji and honoured him by conversion to Islam. Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang, who was passing by that place for chastising the disturber Dhanna Jadon, recommended promotions for both the [Syed] brothers and sent the letter of recommendation to the Emperor by relays of couriers (*dak*), praying that the elder brother's rank, which was 800, might be raised to 1000, and the younger brother's, which was 700, to 900.

Across the sheet [of the report] the Emperor wrote, "Bravo! Why should it not be so? The Syeds, who are sources of auspiciousness, bear this meaning that they should try with all their life for supporting the strong faith of their forefather, His Holiness the Syed among prophets [Muhammad]. Send to both the brothers with [a mace-bearer] two robes of honour from the special wardrobe, with two plain daggers set with jasper and having pearl straps. The Prime Minister should write a 'Letter By Order' full of praise and send it to them."

Across the letter [of Nusrat Jang] His Majesty wrote, "The recommendation of promotion made by this hereditary servant aware of my sentiments, was very proper. Failure on the part of generals to conciliate good soldiers is injustice. It should not be done. But it is difficult [for me] to consent to their promotion in one step. True, love for the high-ranked Syeds is a

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part of our faith, nay more, it is the very essence of spiritual knowledge; and enmity to this tribe is the cause of entry into hell-fire and of [incurring] the anger of God. But we should not do an act which might be a source of our grief in this world and misery in the next. To relax the reins to the Syeds of Barha is to bring on final ruin, *i.e.*, a bad end; because these people on getting the least prosperity and promotion boast **'There is none like me'**, stray from the path of right conduct, cherish high views, and cause impediment. If they are neglected, worldly affairs become difficult to perform. If they are corrected, the feet fall into mud."

Text—Ir. Ms. 26*b* & 27*a*.

Notes.—Syed Hasan Ali Khan of Barha afterwards became Qutbulmulk Abdullah Khan and the *Wazir* of Farukhsiyar. He is known to fame as one of the "Syed Brothers" or Indian King-makers. In Aurangzib's reign he was Faujdar of Nandurbar and Sultanpur. (Life in *M.U.* iii. 130—140). Hasan Ali's heroic but disastrous fight with the Marathas under Nima Sindhia (1698) is described by Khafi Khan, ii. 457. His brother Husain Ali Khan, afterwards created Amir-ul-umara, did not serve in the Deccan in Aurangzib's reign, but was Faujdar of Hindun-Biana. (Life in *M.U.* i. 321—338). Hence both the MSS. are wrong in giving the name of the hero of this episode as *Husain Ali*. Nusrat Jang "returned to Court after punishing Dhanna Jadon" about January, 1700 (*M.A.* 432). But he had a roving commission from 1701 to 1705 to chastise the Maratha bands wherever found.

§ 33. The Rise of the Nizam's father.

When Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, whose original name was Mir Shihabuddin, first came to

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India from *Vilayet*, his father Abid Khan, through the mediation of Sarbuland Khan the Paymaster, introduced him to the Emperor at Delhi in the course of His Majesty's ride on a pilgrimage to the saint Qutb [Shah's tomb], and got for him the rank of a commander of three hundred horse. Afterwards when the Emperor went to Ajmir, none of the scouts consented [to go out] to bring news about Prince Muhammad Akbar who had gone over to the Rajputs. Mir Shihabuddin said "This slave is willing." The Emperor gave him a robe of honour and a promotion of two hundred, and so sent him. On the 14th day the news of his return reached the sentinels round the Imperial army, and he too sent a letter saying "This slave has arrived with true news. Please quickly issue an order for my admission into the camp that I may tell it." On the petition the Emperor wrote, (*Verse*)

"Whcsoever drinks, like the ruby, the blood of the liver
and grows patient,
Becomes the ornament of the top of the crown of Fortune.

The *kotwal* must give him a pass to enter the camp."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 10*b*, Ms. N. 31*b* and 32*a*.

Notes.—Mir Shihabuddin, surnamed Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang, was the son of Abid Khan, *Sadar* of Aurangzib's reign, and the father of the 1st Nizamulmulk (Mir Qamruddin, Chin Qalich Khan, Asaf Jah). Shihabuddin came from his home in Samarqand to seek his fortune at the Court of Delhi in October, 1669. The incident of the present anecdote is also narrated in the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 185, Khafi Khan, ii. 267, and in his life in the *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 832 *et seq.* It took place some time *before* Akbar's

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rebellion. *Vilayet* means any country across the N. W. frontier of India, especially Central Asia. Prince Akbar rebelled against his father in January, 1681.

§ 34. Trials to be held strictly according to Quranic Law.

The Emperor learned from the news-letter of the army of Firuz Jang Khan that he had, while holding audience, executed a man named Muhammad Aqil on the charge of highway robbery. The Emperor wrote, "The Prime Minister [Asad Khan] should write thus to the foolish Khan Firuz Jang,—you have undertaken an execution, *i.e.*, the destruction of what God had built, without proof according to Canon Law. Alas for the day when the heirs of [the slain] will arrive and refuse to accept the price of his blood! How can this humble being [Aurangzib] help giving the order of retaliation [on you], as mercy in the exercise of penal laws is contrary to the authority of the Word of God [*i.e.*, the Quran]? **And kindness should not overpower you in [matters concerning] the religion of God.**"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 3*b*, Ms. N. 9*a*.

Notes.—Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang Bahadur, the father of the first Nizam of Haidarabad, was one of the two highest generals of Aurangzib, the other being his rival Nusrat Jang. (Died 1710 A.D.) *The price of blood* is the money-compensation for which the heirs of a murdered man may, under the Islamic law, give up their demand for the execution of the murderer. (Compare the same practice among the ancient Teutons).

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§ 35. **Preaches meekness to Firuz Jang.**

The Emperor learnt from the news-letter of Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, that the Khan had laid it down that in the orders which he sent to various places the phrase 'By the *karamat-buniad* command [of the Khan]' should be written.

The Emperor wrote, "No harm. His ancestors were hermits and inmates of monasteries. I allow the use of 'By command' only. But a Commander of Seven Thousand does not possess miraculous power (*karamat*). I order that in future the customary present on the Emperor's coronation anniversary which he will send to [us] his slaves, will not be accepted [by us]."

When Ghaziuddin Khan got news of it, he petitioned thus, **"He who repents of a sin becomes sinless as it were, and when a man confesses a fault verily God forgives all his faults, few and many."** On the petition the Emperor wrote, **"Whosoever earns the pardon of his affliction by means of reformation, God will recompense him. And if a man returns to his sins, God wreaks vengeance on him."**

Text.—Ir. Ms. 24*b* & 25*a*.

Notes.—Ghaziuddin Khan, the father of the first Nizamulmulk, was the grandson of Alam Shaikh, a scholar and saint of Samarqand, (*M.U.* iii. 837, 120), who claimed descent from Shaikh Shihabuddin Saharawardi, a renowned saint of Central Asia. There is a play upon the phrase *Karamat-buniad*, which may mean (1) gracious and (2) miracle-working. Aurangzib takes it in the latter sense, hence his objection and ironical remark that he is only a slave of Firuz Jang!

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§ 36. Kindness to Hamid Khan Bahadur.

The Emperor learnt from the report of the army of Hamid Khan Bahadur, the brother of Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang, that though not granted this distinction by the Emperor, he carried with himself kettledrums and bandsmen, and everyday played the *naubat* as at festivities. On the sheet the Emperor wrote, "The brother of Firuz Jang Khan is not such a fool as to act so very audaciously. It is evident that there is some festival [or other] in his house everyday. As even low persons do not require permission from the Emperor to play the *naubat* on festive occasions, why should he? In future the news-writer must not spitefully bring such charges against him. I admire his patience that while, in spite of his holding the rank of a Commander of Four Thousand horse and the title *Bahadur*, I have not granted him the right to play the *naubat* in view of the littleness of his wisdom, he himself has not once asked [for this mark of distinction]."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 10*b* & 11*a*, Ms. N. 11*b* & 12*a*.

Notes.—Khwajah Hamid, the son of Qalich Khan (Khwajah Abid) and brother of Firuz Jang, was created Hamid Khan Bahadur in September, 1685; afterwards got the titles of Muizuddaula and Salabat Jang. See Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 765. In Aurangzib's reign he did not rise to a higher rank than the command of 2500 (number of additional troopers 1500). He was quite distinct from Hamid-*ud-din* Khan Bahadur. Died at Kulbarga, 1140 A.H.

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§ 37. Oppressive Governor rebuked.

Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, who was the Governor of the Panjab, greatly oppressed the inhabitants of the place at the time of his return, so that the matter reached the Emperor's knowledge from the reports (*sawanih*). On the day of interview the Emperor told him, "I had not expected this of you. The worst of all [your acts] is that you have set on foot certain innovations (*bidat*, heretical practices) in the *jagirs* appertaining to Lahore which will last for ever. (*Verse*)

Even after his death the tyrant does not abstain from oppression,
The plumes of the (dead) eagle become at last the feathers of arrows!"

Text.—Ir. Ms. *6a* & *b*.

Notes.—Mir Malik Husain, Bahadur Khan, brother of Azam Khan Kokah, (created Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash in 1673, and Zafar Jang in 1675) was one of the highest officers of Aurangzib and long served in the Deccan. Appointed Subahdar of the Panjab 11th April, 1691; but dimissed in the middle of 1693. Died 23rd November, 1697; buried at Nakudar in the Panjab Doab. (Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 798—813).

§ 38. Qualifications of a Governor.

Khwajah Sarbuland Khan, the chief Paymaster, whose father belonged to an eminent Khwajah family of Bukhara, was treated with great consideration by the Emperor. Once, when His Majesty complained about him, it was only this that his words savoured a little of Shiah-ism. He replied, "Ay! your Majesty, in Bukhara many of the Syeds of Bukhara belong to that sect. Traces of their society have been left [in my

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speech]. But I have not yet been confirmed in that faith. Through ill luck I have withdrawn myself from this and yet not arrived at that [creed.]" The Emperor smiled and gave no reply.

For this reason Sarbuland Khan showed great favour to the Persians and exerted himself much in furthering their affairs, so that he recommended a certain [Persian] lord for the Governorship of Kabul. Across the sheet of his petition the Emperor wrote, "I grant the request of this trustworthy servant. Let a robe of honour consisting of six pieces of cloth from my ward-robe be given [to the nominee]. Jewels, horses, and elephants will be presented to him according to the regulations. But remember that this man will not be able to dischage the duties of that post. May God make it end well!"

Notes.—Sarbuland Khan, appointed 2nd Paymaster in October, 1672 and died in office, 27 December, 1679. (Life in *Masir-ul-um.* ii. 477). Sarbuland's mother was Ai Begam, a daughter of Mirza Shahrukh, king of Badakhshan.

Text.—Ir. Ms. 12*b* and Ms. R. 15. But in Ms. N. 18*a*—20*a*, which also differs a little textually from the Ir. Ms., the above order of the Emperor is continued in the following words :—

"—so that it may not be a cause of disgrace and ridicule, and may not make people talk about it for years. This man's thoughts are full of violence and his notion about himself is marked by great confidence and pride. Plato wrote to Alexander, 'Government should be strict without being oppressive, and gentle

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without being weak'. This noble has extreme severity and obstinate adhesion to one policy only, in as much as he has never known subterfuge. Besides, he is very honest and simple-minded, as he cannot at all understand fraud and stratagem. One cannot rule without practising deception. The clear text of the Holy Traditions [of Muhammad] is '**War is stratagem.**' The Science of Jurisprudence has many component parts. It is most likely that the art of government is included in this total. In the days when I was going to take up the Governorship of the Deccan, I met at Burhanpur a *darvish* who was a master of *taksir* (word-breaking and word-forming). He had learnt some examples of this art from his preceptor, and he also now and then composed some others himself. It is a fixed rule of *taksir* that if we strike off the common letters from the two lines of *taksir*, we can extract a meaning from the words, [which may be formed from the remaining letters] consistently with sense. So that, if the words *hakumat* (government) and *hilat* (cunning) are arranged in two lines, and the common letters are cancelled, the words *kul*, *yum*, and *malik* are derived [from the remainder] by combination (*qalb*), and we get '**malik-i-kul-yum***(king for all time), that is to say,

* It is done in the following manner :

H K U M T (*hakumat*) H Y L T (*hiiat*)

Cancelling the common letters H and T, we can form, by combinations of the remaining 5 letters, only these words 'bearing a sense,' *viz.*, *kul yum. ana malik.* Thus is proved the precious doctrine that if a ruler combines *hakumat* and *hilat* he becomes *malik-kul-yum ! ! !*

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a government that is joined to cunning lasts and remains firm for ever, and the master of this [art of government] becomes 'a king for all time.'

In the opinion of the common herd, cunning and deception are greatly scorned. As God himself in His Holy Word [*i.e.*, the Quran] has ascribed cunning to His own holy self, saying, **'God is the best of plotters,'**† it is contrary to the Quran to consider stratagem as blameable. Besides, in governing Kabul this quality is most beneficial and excellent." (*Verse*)

"I am speaking to you of what is required by eloquence;
You take wisdom from it or feel displeased, [as you like.]"

Text.—Ms. N. 19*a*2—20*a*5.

§ 39. Ability the only qualification for office.

Muhammad Amin Khan, on his first arrival in India from *Vilayet*, was created a Commander of Five Hundred, on account of the fact that his father had been faithful to Prince Alamgir during the war in Balkh and had rendered good service. In course of time he received praise, was repeatedly promoted, and attained to the rank of a Commander of Three Thousand (two thousand additional troopers) and the distinction of playing *naubat*, for his activity against the accursed enemy [the Marathas], bringing fodder (*khai*) from Satara and other places, convoying provisions, and going to

† That is, God's ways are inscrutable to men and He sometimes seems to deceive mortals in His dealings with them. Cf. Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, ll. 350—360, 667—686.

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and from every [Mughal] entrenchment. As the Emperor wished that the Khan should remain away [from the Imperial encampment] for some time and play the *naubat*, he said, "I learn from the reports that the revenue coming from Bengal has crossed the Narmada. You should go and halt at Aurangabad, in order that you may at last enjoy some respite from movement, and play the *naubat* granted to you to your heart's content." Then His Majesty dismissed him, after presenting him with the riding cloak trimmed with fur and richly laced which he was himself wearing.

When the Khan returned with the revenue, after fighting with the shameless Marathas, gaining victories, and convoying the Government treasure in safety, His Majesty presented him with a horse adorned with gold trappings, a dagger with a *kalgi*, and the robe of honour worn on his august person. When he saw these successive favours, he submitted a petition through Muharram Khan, saying, "In view of the obedience and old service which the aged slave had performed in Balkh, this devoted servant had hoped for favours; but owing to the large number of his enemies and the fewness of his friends [at Court] he had not so long made bold to submit some of his wishes. [But now] relying on God I make this petition."

Copy of the petition: "Hail! saint and spiritual guide of the world and of its people! Both the Paymasterships have been conferred on heretical demon-natured Persians. If one of the Paymasterships be

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given to this old and devoted servant, it would be a means of strengthening the [Sunni] faith and of snatching away employment from accursed misbelievers. **O, ye faithful! do not take as friends your own and our enemies.**"

Across the sheet of the petition Aurangzib wrote, "What you have stated about your long service is true. It will be appreciated as far as possible. As for what you have written about the false creed of the Persians, [I answer],—'What connection have earthly affairs with religion? and what right have administrative works to meddle with bigotry? **For you is your religion and for me is mine.**' If this rule [suggested by you] were established, it would be my duty to extirpate all the (Hindu) Rajahs and their followers. Wise men disapprove of the removal from office of able officers. Your request for a Paymastership is appropriate, as you hold a rank suited to the post. The reason that acts as a hindrance is that the Turani people, your followers, who are brethren from the same city as that of my ancestors,—according to the saying '**Don't throw yourself into destruction with your own hands,**'—do not think it a shame to retreat in the very thick of the battle. It would not be a great harm if this sort of thing took place in a foraging expedition, but it would cause a terrible difficulty if it occurred in the midst of a [regular] battle. If, **God forbid it!** the attendants of the Emperor were to act thus, then in a moment all would be over [with him].

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If you have [ever] declined this actually experienced and tested business (*viz.* retreat), write to me in detail [about it]. The Persians, whether born in *Vilayet* or in Hindustan—who (the last) are noted for their gross stupidity,—are a hundred stages removed from this sort of movement (*i.e.*, flight.) (*Verse*)

Do justice, as the folly of these bad men
Is better than a thousand brains of the fox-natured.
One brain is enough for an army
For throwing bricks from engines into the eyes
[of the enemy]".

Text.—Ir. Ms. 14*a*—15*a*.

Notes.—Muhammad Amin Khan, the son of Mir Bahauddin, who was the brother of Qalich Khan, came to India from Bukhara in 1687 ; got the title of *Chin Bahadur* (Nov. 1706) and the post of *Sadr* (1698). At the time of Aurangzib's death he was a Commander of 4000, (1500 additional troopers). For his attachment to his Mughal followers, see *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 349.

§ 40. Aurangzib preaches humility to an officer.

Yar Ali Beg submitted to the Emperor, on the basis of an oral report from a courier (*harkarah*), that while Hamiduddin Khan Bahadur was exchanging words with Muhammad Murad *qul*, the latter said 'You little man (*mardak*)! you are a *chelah* (slave) of the Emperor just as I am'; and that at this Hamiduddin Khan resigned his post and sent the letter of resignation to Bahramand Khan, the Chief Paymaster. The Emperor wrote, "The word *mardak* was not employed in abuse ; it is a diminutive, meaning 'a little man.' The men of the world are not at all great men.

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Probably the Khan Bahadur felt ashamed at being called a *chelah*. (*Verse*)

Whosoever quarrels with a man lower than himself,
Tears up his own *pardah* (honour) sooner than the latter's.
Every wise man who enters into a dispute with a worthless man,
Only strikes his own lustrous jewel (*i.e.*, intellect or character) on a hard stone."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 16*a* & *b*.

Notes.—Hamiduddin Khan Bahadur, surnamed *Nimchah-i-Alamgirshahi*, was the son of Ihtamam Khan (Sardar Khan), and greatly distinguished himself by his fights with the Marathas. (Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 605—611). *Qul* is a Turkish word meaning a slave. The Emperor Akbar changed the title of the Imperial slaves from *ghulam* (slave) to *chelah* (disciple), because he considered it an act of impious presumptuousness for one mortal to call another his *ghulam*, men being the *ghulams* of God only. (Masum's *Tarikh-i-Shujai*, 143*a*).

§ 41. **Poverty is no hindrance where there is a will.**

In the 32nd year of Aurangzib's reign, Mirza Sadruddin Muhammad Khan Safavi, (who was finally given the title of Shah Nawaz Khan), was dismissed from his rank for making an improper request. The Emperor settled on him an annual stipend of Rs. 40,000. After a year His Majesty recollected the claims of his father, Mirza Sultan Safavi, who had shown great constancy during the war with Dara Shukoh. So, he sent a gracious *farman* summoning him to the Court, with a special robe of honour, by the hand of macebearers. The Khan after taking the *farman* kissed it, put on the robe, and after showing the proper etiquette sent a

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petition, "Owing to the poverty consequent on my long deprivation of rank, I am not able to engage a body of retainers with whom I may attend the Court. So, I am waiting for the *caravan* from Bengal [to escort me]." The Emperor wrote, (*verse*)

"The odour of the rose and the morning breeze are out on the road.
If you wish to go out of yourself, there is no better caravan than these.

Alas that the objects that captivate the heart
Are as close together as the links of a chain!

Outwardly your excuse is reasonable, but in fact the weakness of your spirit [is the cause of your] straitened means. O, God! show the path to all of weak steps!"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 16*b*.

Notes.—Mirza Sultan (*M. U.* iii. 581) was devoted to Aurangzib during the war of succession, but did not fight, as he was left behind at Aurangabad. His son, Sadruddin, rose to be Paymaster under Aurangzib and was created Shah Nawaz Khan by Bahadur Shah I. (Life in *M. U.* iii. 692).

§ 42. **A silent suppliant.**

The Emperor told Bahramand Khan, who was Paymaster at that time, "Musavi Khan *alias* Mirza Muizz-i-Fitrat, out of pride never petitions me about his wants, and is living in great distress. Unless he applies to me about his circumstances, he will get no favour from me. You should send him word [about it], get in reply a petition from him, and submit it to me."

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So, after receiving the message, Musavi Khan wrote to the Emperor, "**Your knowledge of my condition is better than my words.** (*Verse*)

In demanding, we speechless ones belong to the race of moths ;
To me it is easier to burn [in the fire of desire] than to state my wish.
My tongue of statement has become silent from my pride of service.
These meritorious deeds have thrown me into the path of mistake.
The ocean of mercy never reposes from [heaving in] billows of gracious acts ;
(Hence) those who beg make needless importunity."

The Emperor wrote on the petition, "Verily you have written the truth. (*Verse*)

Silence opens the hardest prisons.
In the cage the parrot with its beak is chattering about itself.

But,

No man is engaged in mending his own character ;
Every one whom I have seen is busy in pampering his own nature (passions).

According to the Tradition, '**The king is the shadow of God**', whenever the king of the age requests his servant to state his desires, and the latter gives such an excellent answer, it would be bad manners not to grant favours to him."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 18*b*.

Notes.—Mirza Muizz, a Persian of Mashhad, married a sister of Aurangzib's wife and was created Musavi Khan and *diwan* of the Pay Office (*daftar-i-tan*) in September, 1688, and *diwan* of the

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Deccan in June, 1689. Died after May, 1690. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 337 and 338. Life in *M.U.* iii. 633). His poetical pseudonyms were *Fitrat* and *Musavi*. In Persian poetry the moth which silently burns itself in the flame is the emblem of the highest kind of lovers.

§ 43. Work for your wages.

Mukhlis Khan petitioned the Emperor to grant an increment, half in cash salary and half in *jagir*, to Sultan Mahmud, one of the pure Syeds of the holy city of Mashhad, who was living in a very distressed condition, and whom the Khan greatly supported.

The Emperor wrote on the petition :—"**The good deeds we do are for our own benefit, the sins we commit shall lie on ourselves.** I know full well the saintliness and piety of that Syed. But he is not attached to any post. A hired labourer should not consider his wages as lawfully earned unless he has done service,—which is a good and virtuous deed. (*Verse*)

Although you cannot untie a knot with your toes,
The knots of livelihood are opened by the exertions of the feet (*i.e.*, active service)."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 6*b*.

§ 44. Charity covers a multitude of sins.

From the news-letter of the office (*kachari*) of the High Diwan the Emperor learnt that Mir Habibullah of Jaunpur, the *amin* of the poll-tax on non-Muslims (*jazia*), had misappropriated beyond a doubt Rs. 40,000 out of the Imperial property, and that he had also admitted it. Inayetullah Khan had placed

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him under detention in the office and appointed strict *sazawals* (collectors) to exact the money from him. The aforesaid Syed was saying, 'I have my life, but no earthly property in my possesion.'

Across the sheet of the news-letter the Emperor wrote, "Why do you try to realise again money which has been already recovered by me? From the reports of Burhanpur I had repeatedly learnt before this that the aforesaid Syed was spending all his accumulations on deserving mendicants and in works of charity. As the money of this sinner sunk in sin (*i.e.* Aurangzib) has been spent by means of this my agent in deeds of charity, its restitution will do no benefit [to me]. **God save us from the wickedness of our passions!**"

Text—Ir. Ms. 17*a*.

§ 45. The mystic number Twelve.

When the Emperor marched from Islampuri (otherwise called Barhampuri) in the month of Jamadi-us-sani of the 42nd year of his reign, to conquer the forts of the Deccan,—he ordered that every day Mukhlis Khan, the second Paymaster, should present to His Majesty ten mansabdars (military officers) from among the hereditary servants (*khanahzad*) and others, but excluding the Deccanis. The Khan submitted, "As your Majesty has followed the verse **'These are the ten perfect ones,'** in ordering that ten officers with their retinue (*misl*) should be daily paraded before you, it is good. Otherwise, if the number be twelve, there is

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no harm." The Emperor replied, "Your request, too, is not unsupported by [scriptural] authority. (*Verse*)

Behold the hours of the day and the Signs of the Zodiac,
Day and night and the heavens too are [followers of the number] twelve!"

Muhammad Amin Khan said, "Ay, companionship has a wonderful effect, as I find to-day. Why should there not be four instead of twelve?" His Majesty replied, "Four is included in twelve." He smiled and continued, "Why is it not three, [you might ask]. But twelve is related to three as the double of double. You are free to choose. Do whatever is likely to benefit the creatures of God most."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 16*b* & 17*a*.

Notes.—Aurangzib marched out of Islampuri, on 5th Jamadi-ul-awwal, in the 43rd year of his reign (=19 October, 1699) to conquer the Maratha forts. Mukhlis Khan, appointed 2nd Paymaster July, 1692, died 3 January, 1701. Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur was Sadr at this time.

§ 46. Kings should never rest.

After the conquest of Bijapur and Haidarabad, the Prime Minister petitioned the Emperor, "Praised be God! that through the grace of the Great Omnipotent and the undecaying fortune [of your Majesty], two great kingdoms have been conquered. It is now good policy that the Imperial standards should return to Paradise-like Hindustan (*i.e.* Northern India), so that the world may know that nothing more remains for the Emperor to do."

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The Emperor wrote [across the letter], "I wonder that an all-knowing hereditary servant like you has made such a request. If your wish is that men might know that no work now remains to be done, it would be contrary to truth. So long as a single breath of this mortal life remains, there is no release from labour and work. (*Verse*)

The traveller in the path of long hopes needs no guide.
So long as a breath remains, the path of life is not smooth.
It is very hard that my disturbed heart longs for home,
The dew has so passed away that its mind dwells on the garden.

If Shah Jahan had not chosen to stay at Delhi and Agra, and had been constantly out on tour, his affairs would not have come to the pass that they actually did. If out of regard for good manners you do not [again] make such a request, and can bear the hardships of the expeditions for capturing forts,—then in future I shall turn to the siege of forts. (*Verse*)

What fear of danger has the man steeped in love?
What anxiety about headache has the man who has lost his head?

Praised be God that in whatever place and abode I have been, I have by passing through it withdrawn my heart from all things connected with it, and made death easy for myself. (*Verse*)

Untie little by little the knot tying your heart [to earthly things],
Or else, Death will pull at this string suddenly and unawares."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 17*b* and 18*a*.

§ 47. Rigorous marching even in illness.

When the Emperor marched from Barhampuṛi, which he had named Islampuri, in order to capture

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[the Maratha] forts, he ordered that whether he was sick or well there should be a march every day except Friday, which was to be a day of halt. So that, before reaching Khawaspur, where his knee was hurt, he had two severe fits of illness, once fever, another time diarrhœa ; yet except on Friday there was never a halt. During illness he used to be carried in a chair (*takht-i-rawan*) with an open top, whereas in health he rode in a chair closed at the top. By chance, it was on a Thursday night that his knee got hurt at Khawaspur. Immediately he said, "Strike the kettledrums for a march". Hamiduddin Khan, as he was very bold, submitted, "It would be contrary to the order issued when leaving Islampuri." His Majesty smiled and said, "If you had the least knowledge of the science of logic, you would not have said so. We were [then] talking of halting on days other than Friday. My object was preparation for the march, and not that because it was a Friday therefore no march should be made [on it]. An opposite conception does not conflict with the meaning of the original."

Text.—Ms. N. 7*b*2—11 and then 33*a* 1—8.

Notes.—Aurangzib set out from Islampuri on 19th October, 1699 (*M. A.* 408), and arrived at Khawaspur about 31st August, 1700 (430). The *Masir-ul-umara* (iii. 529) and Khafi Khan (ii. 176) state that he was hurt in the leg at the close of the 40th year of his reign, (which ended on 13th March, 1697). Aurangzib means to say that the expression "there should be a march on all the days of the week except Friday" does not logically imply that there would be no march on Friday.

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§ 48. A profligate noble punished.

Mirza Tafakhkhur, the son of the Prime Minister [Asad Khan]'s daughter, acquired ruffianly habits at Delhi, laid the hand of oppression on the property and honour [*i.e.* women] of the people, often came to the bazar with his comrades, plundered the shops of the fruiterers, confectioners and others, and with the help of his men seized the Hindu women who went to the river to bathe, and did them all sorts of disgrace and dishonour. Every time that this matter was brought to the Emperor's notice in the news-letters and reports, he wrote "The Prime Minister" and nothing more.

At last the Emperor repeatedly learnt that while a *Baksaria* named Ghanashyam, having just married, was passing with his companions by the gate of Mirza Tafakhkhur, placing his wife in a *dooli* and himself on horseback, the ruffians informed the Mirza, who sallied forth with a party of them, and dragged the *dooli* by force into his own house. Two men were killed and six wounded [in the affray]. The men of the Imperial artillery, on getting the news [of their comrade's dishonour], wished to assemble and crowd at the gate of Mirza Tafakhkhur. Aqil Khan, sending the *kotwal*, forbade them. Then he despatched an eunuch of his to Qamar-un-nissa, the daughter of the Prime Minister and the mother of Mirza Tafakhkhur, and greatly chid and rebuked him; so that the poor Hindu woman, after the loss of her caste and honour, was given up to the eunuch, and he calmed the artillerymen by promising

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that a report of the matter would be inserted in the news-letter and the Emperor would certainly remedy [their grievance]. They, therefore, abstained from creating a tumult.

The Emperor, after reading it, wrote across the sheet [of the report], "The Prime Minister should write a 'Letter By Order of the Emperor' to Aqil Khan, ordering him to confine in the fort of Delhi this worthless wretch and luckless leader of wicked men; and in case his mother, out of her extreme love for her son, refuses to part with him, the governor [of Delhi] should be ordered to bring Qamar-un-nissa Begam [in] a *chaudol* (rich litter) within the fort with every respect and keep her with her son. Aqil Khan should assign a good house fit for the residence of Qamar-un-nissa Begam. As she is the daughter of my maternal aunt,* and is adorned with noble qualities, I ought to show consideration to her internally and externally. But what reform could even the Prophet Noah (**on him and on our Prophet Muhammad be peace**!) make in his own unworthy son, that other [parents] would succeed? It is my duty to prevent oppression on the people, who are a trust from the Creator. Fifty men of the *kotwal* should carefully keep guard round the house and at the gate [of Tafakhkhur's house], so that this noxious creature may not creep out like a mouse from a hole. (*Verse*)

Some of these unworthy sons of a Satanic character
Have brought disrepute on some well-reputed [parents]."

* Ir. Ms. has 'my adopted daughter.'

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The Prime Minister at once wrote a 'Letter By Order' and without sealing it placed it before the Emperor with his own letter to Aqil Khan. The purport of the latter was, "My dear and gracious brother, in view of our long standing friendship—which dates from the reign of Shah Jahan,—I expect that you would consider yourself as an uncle of the wicked Tafakhkhur. If you send an eunuch, summon him to your presence, and give him fifty stripes with a thorny stick, it will in short give satisfaction and comfort to the loving heart of this brother [of yours]. The thorns of the sticks will extract the thorns planted in my affectionate heart [by my grandson's misdeeds]."

The Emperor after reading it, wrote across the sheet, "No body else can chastise the son of my maternal aunt's daughter. If my life lasts and Death grants me respite so that I may return to Delhi, I shall, God willing, chastise him with my own hand. He indeed stands in the relation of a son to me. But what help is there when the son is wicked? **To beat a slave is to insult his master.**"*

Text.—Ir. Ms. 11*b*—12*b*, Ms. N. 16*a*—18*a*.

Notes.—Asad Khan had married one of the four sisters of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal, and he was therefore the maternal uncle of Aurangzib. Many other profligate descendants of Asad

* In the place of the last sentence, Ms. N. gives the following :—

"These dignities that were shown in writing and speaking [about Tafakhkhur] were due to the maxim, 'To beat a slave is to insult his master.' If a well-connected man does such wicked deeds, where can he be put to disgrace?"

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Khan are mentioned in *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 320. The confinement of Tafakhkhur is referred to in some of Aurangzib's letters *viz.*, Inayetullah's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, 145*b*, 146*a*, 165*a*, 207*a*, 210*a*, 290*a*. The men of the garrison artillery were taken from the *Baksarias* or Hindu inhabitants of Buxar; these people (now called Bhojpuris) long supplied the E. I. Co. with matchlockmen and the Zamindars with clubmen. Aqil Khan (surnamed Razi) was Subahdar of Delhi from October, 1680 to his death in 1696. Noah's undutiful son was Canaan. "Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be Canaan." (*Genesis*, ix. 24).

§ 49. Vigilance against foreign invader's stratagem.

From the news-letter of the province of Afghanistan, the Emperor learnt that eleven thousand horses fit for riding, with one groom for every two horses, had entered Kabul, it being usual that after selection by the Governor of Delhi the horses were sent to the Emperor. Across the sheet of the news-letter the Emperor wrote :—"It is a very strange act of negligence on the part of Amir Khan [the Governor of Afghanistan] who has been trained by me and knows my mind. It is as if 5,500 brave Turanis have entered the Imperial territory from foreign parts. Well, such [was the number of the] men who wrested the kingdom of Hindustan from the hands of the Afghans. However, **a mistake should not be punished and carelessness should not be chastised [like a deliberate sin].***

* This Arabic passage occurs in Ms. N. only, where it is followed by a Persian rendering, with the additional note that the translation formed no part of what Aurangzib wrote.

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In future he should know it to be his duty to avoid this sort of action, and he should remedy the past in this way, that whenever the droves of horses arrive [at the frontier], he should allow only one groom to every 20 horses, and that groom too should be chosen from useless old and helpless men."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 5*a*, Ms. N. 34*b*—35*a*.

Notes.—Amir Khan (son of Khalilullah) was governor of Afghanistan from 19th March, 1677, to 28th April, 1698, (*Masir-ul-umara*, i. 277). Muhammad-i-Bakhtiar's troopers invading Bengal were imagined to be horse-dealers. (*Raverty*, 557).

§ 50. Be ever vigilant against foreign powers.

From the despatch of Amir Khan, the Governor of Kabul, it came to the Emperor's knowledge, "It has been learnt from the letter of the *thanahdar* of Ghaznin that the Persian frontier was 36 miles [from Ghaznin], but now the *thanahdar* of that side (*i.e.*, Persia) in the direction of Qandahar, says that if we permit him to set up his outpost (*thanah*) four miles further towards our side, every year a hundred Persian horses would be sent to His Majesty. As the water has dried up in the site of the former outpost, and water is available four miles from it [towards the Mughal frontier], he has made this request."

The Emperor wrote in answer, "It is not the part of a wise man to contribute to the vigour and splendour of the Persian *thanahdar* and to rob his own administration of its cover. But, (*verse*)

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The word *tam 'a* [=greed] has three letters, all of which are empty, [other meaning, 'without dots'].

What do you talk of permitting him to come two *kos* [towards our frontier] when I would not let him come even two steps nearer? It is the opinion of theologians of all schools that persevering in trivial sins is equivalent to committing a mortal sin. I wonder at this hereditary servant, aware of my sentiments,—who has been brought up in my Court from the age of seven years,—being indifferent to the devices of the Persians! Consider for yourself why they have consented to present me with a hundred Persian horses, whose price must be high, in return for this simple matter that their outpost might be set up four miles from our side of the frontier. It is according to that very proverb,—*(verse)*

'He holds the tip of the finger with the design of breaking it,
And then all of a sudden he will display boldness against the hand.
Be not negligent about your enemy's plans,
Always scratch his black face.'

It is a well-known saying *(verse)*

'Wisdom and fortune are closely connected with each other.
He who lacks wisdom, has neither any fortune.'

The common people, who are **like beasts**, imagine that whosoever is a man of fortune must necessarily be a wise man, but it is a wrong idea. The real meaning [of the proverb] is that if a man is not wise his fortune does not last long, and hence we may say that it does

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not exist. To use more words on this point is like striking an iron when cold, or sewing an old coat."

Text.—Ms. N. 12*a* 11—13*b* 1.

Notes.—Under Shah Jahan and Aurangzib there was the greatest rivalry between the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of Delhi, and several alarms about Persian invasions. Indeed, the Persian peril hung like a dark cloud over certain periods of these two reigns, and the Emperors felt relief on hearing of any warlike Shah's death. Qandahar had been lost to the Persians in 1649. Mir Khan, a son of Khalilullah Khan, was created Amir Khan; he governed Afghanistan from 19th March, 1677, to his death, 28th April, 1698. (Life in *M. U.* i. 277). See my article, *A Muslim Heroine.*

§ 51. Promptitude in repelling foreign invasion.

From the news-letter of Persia sent by Muhammad Sadiq, the leader of the merchants, the Emperor learnt that Shah Abbas had left his capital Isfahan, halted two leagues outside the city, and sent his 'advance-tents' on towards Aghrabad. The Emperor immediately mounted his own Arab horse and issued forth. Nobody could venture to speak to him [against this course] at that time. Muhammad Amin Khan, the son of Mir Jumla, being exceedingly bold, submitted, "Your Majesty's 'advance-tents' have not been sent forward yet. It is necessary to halt till they arrive [at the next stage]."

His Majesty answered, "Before I knew [of the Persian king's hostile intentions] I might have been excused [in lingering here]. But after getting the infor-

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mation, negligence and delay would only be causes of the decline of my fortune. What need is there of the arrival of the 'advance-tents'? (*Verse*)

The man of God is not a stranger in the east or the west ;
Whichever way he goes, the country has not parted from Him !"

After entering the garden [outside Agra], the Emperor held a public audience and told his officers and clerks that the march would begin the next day and that he would halt [only on reaching] Lahore. The Chamberlain petitioned, "This march has been undertaken all of a sudden. It is impossible for the necessary things to reach us."

Across the sheet of the petition the Emperor wrote, "The eternal journey which no man can avoid, will have to be undertaken all of a sudden, without previous warning. What shall I do *then*? This my present journey should be considered as like that [eternal voyage]. I shall march further on in the same manner in which I have arrived up to this place. Nay, it is not even necessary to mark out [the lengths of the successive] stages; I shall [daily] travel as far as I can. (*Verse*)

The wayfarer in the path of death is not in need of stages."

Text.– Abdus Salam Khan's second Ms.

Notes.—In September 1666, Aurangzib, then at Agra, learnt from the reports of his spies that Shah Abbas II wanted to enter Khurasan with a view to invading India. The Emperor at once sent his son Muazzam with Jaswant Singh towards the Panjab (4th September). On 9th October, he himself left Agra for Delhi,

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but made no haste to reach the north-western frontier. On 12th December, at the hunting-lodge of Palam, he learnt that the Shah had died on 22nd August. (*A. N.* 974, 984, *M. A.* 56—58.) A taunting letter which the Shah sent to Aurangzib by the hand of Tarbiyat Khan, the Mughal envoy in Persia, shortly before his death, is given in *Faiyaz-ul-qawanin*, 496-499. In it he threatens to invade India.

§ 52. Persians and Indians contrasted.

The Emperor learnt from the news-letter of Ghaznin, "Subhan Quli, the *thanahdar* of the Persian frontier, has written a letter to Amir Khan, the Governor of Kabul, saying, 'Between the two frontiers there is a distance of 12 miles. Praised be God! friendship and alliance prevail between the two countries; and there is no fear on any account whatever of quarrel and rupture. It is proper that the people of each side should go to the other side for buying and selling, so that both the places may increase in prosperity.' Amir Khan wrote in reply, 'I shall report the point to His Majesty, and inform you of the order that I get.'" The same thing was brought to the Emperor's notice in the report from Kabul.

On the sheet of the news-letter of Ghaznin, Aurangzib wrote, "My reply has been written on the report of Kabul,"—which was this: "I wonder that Amir Khan,—a hereditary servant aware of my sentiments, whose ancestors from generation to generation had lived in the society of the grandees of the Court of the Timuride Emperors,—has forgotten the sense of this couplet:

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Don't give up caution when your enemy turns gentle ;
Stratagems may be concealed under a veil, like water under grass.

Without [being charged with] prejudice and enmity, we may say that as the Sun is the guardian planet of the Persians, the intellectual keenness of those men in quickness of perception and foresight is four times as great as that of the Indians, whose tutelary planet is Saturn. Their only defect is that by reason of its conjunction with Venus, they have grown ease-loving, whereas men connected with Saturn are accustomed to toil ; and the nearness of Saturn to Jupiter is really more frequent [than that of the Sun to Venus]. But there is a little natural inferiority and meanness in Saturn, the exceptions being certain individuals only, in whose horoscopes some other planet is their helper. The purport of my words is this, that you should be on your guard against the great cunning of the Persians and never submit to me such [seemingly] friendly overtures, as they would only prove your lack of sagacity. (*Verse*)

The flood kissed the foot of the wall only to overthrow it !"

Text.—Ms. N. 29*b* 1—30*b* 5.

§ 53. A Subordinate Officer protected against his Superior.

Jan Nisar Khan, Deputy Governor of Haidarabad, acting for Ruhullah Khan, petitioned the Emperor thus, "Although this hereditary servant was appointed Deputy Governor at the request of the Chief Paymaster,

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Ruhullah Khan, yet the latter has become a cause of trouble to me without any reason, and wishes to remove me from the Deputyship. As the Khan's mind, in the manner of a serpent (*mar*), is always bent on doing mischief, I hope that your Majesty will summon this slave to the Presence, that he may be delivered from these instigations of the worst of men."

Above the word *mar* the Emperor wrote the letter *he*, making it *himar* (=ass). "The poor man, whose name has been corrected by adding the letter *he* has no power to do harm [like an ass]. But what remedy is there for a bad nature?"

Text.—Ms. N. 4*b* 4—5*a* 3.

The contents of the Emperor's writing, "The Deputy [Governor]-ship has been conferred at his recommendation. What authority has he to dismiss? It is [like] that saying, 'A thief is chained at the words of a peasant, but not released at his request.' If he complains [against you], then, **Whosoever dug a pit for his brother will certainly himself fall into it.** That is, I remove him from the post of Paymaster of *tankhah*."

Text.—Ms. N. 4*b* 1—4*b* 4.

Notes.—Ruhullah Khan I., Mir Bakhshi, was appointed Subahdar of Haidarabad soon after the annexation of the kingdom, 1687 (*M.U.* ii. 313). But he was evidently removed from the post soon afterwards. Jan-nisar Khan (Khwajah Abul Mukaram, *M.U.* i. 537), was never Deputy Governor of Haidarabad, but was appointed *diwan* of Bijapur in Feb., 1690 (*M.A.* 335). Ruhullah Khan had been appointed Subahdar of Bijapur in Sept., 1686,

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(*M.A.* 282). There was a Jan-sipar Khan (Mir Bahadur-dil, 3rd son of Mukhtar Khan Sabzawari) who served as Governor of Haidarabad for many years after its conquest with great success and credit (*M.U.* i. 536). Either, he is the officer meant here, (though we do not read of his having been Ruhullah Khan's deputy,) or, the scene of the episode was Bijapur, where Jan-nisar Khan was serving under Ruhullah Khan.

§ 54. Aurangzib's just dealing with his officers.

Yar Ali Beg, the Superintendent of the office of the High Diwan, submitted to the Emperor, "By your Majesty's order, whosoever does not get a *jagir* for six months, makes a demand on your Majesty's agent (*wakil*) and takes his salary for six months. This order appears to me difficult to carry out. I have, in order to effect a saving to Government, laid it down that they should not demand [their salary] until they get their *jagirs*."

The Emperor wrote, "**First one request, then another.** It is not the act of a wise man to attend to the profits of this perishable world and thereby earn eternal punishment. Wait for a few days, that, after the close of the utterly dark reign of this man drowned in the ocean of sin and [the commencement of] the times of my foolish sons, the officers will get promissory bonds that their due *jagirs* would not be given to them before the Day of Judgment!" Then he added in slanting lines, "You are the Superintendent of the office. Why do you not exert yourself about giving *jagirs* to people, which may be a cause of your good

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name in this world and of merit in the next life, and which may relieve this rancour-less humble creature [*i.e.*, Aurangzib] of the heavy load of the [unsatisfied] dues [of my officers]? (*Verse*)

Alas, my life has been wasted in vain!
This world has passed away in labour, and
faith has gone out of my hand!
I have angered God, and [yet] not pleased the people,
I have [merely] consumed a quantity of water
and fodder [like a cattle].

Though I am a bad man and know myself to be such, yet, O Great God! save [men] from the greater wickedness than mine that will prevail after my time!"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 17*a* & *b*.

Notes.—Yar Ali Beg was appointed assistant (*peshdast*) of the 2nd Paymaster in Oct. 1686. He is best known as Superintendent of the postal department, and greatly increased the power of the news-writers (Khafi Khan ii. 410).

§ 55. No money for repairing forts.

Ruhullah Khan II, (whose name was Mir Hasan), petitioned the Emperor, "The fort of Islampuri is weak and your Majesty will soon march [to it]. It requires repair. What order on this point?"

The Emperor wrote, "God pardon us! God pardon us! it was improper for you to write the word 'Islampuri' in a context speaking of 'weakness.' Its old name was Barhampuri, which you ought to have used. The fort of the body is even weaker than it. What remedy is there for *that*? (*Verse*)

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We have adorned ourselves with works of water and mud ;
We have pampered ourselves instead of preparing our
[heavenly] home."

The Khan again urged, " If your Majesty orders it, the Government masons may inspect the fort of Barhampuri." The Emperor wrote [in reply], " It is a kind of play to you to repeat the request inspite of my former reply. (*Verse*)

Don't be the architect of your own [self], lest you
should ruin the houses.
Be a ruin, that on you may be raised a lofty foundation.
Be level with the dust, draw not your neck [back]
from any body.
It is fitting that the dust should not be raised higher than
the ankle of the feet.

If life be yet spared to me and I return, I shall consider the question of repairing [the fort]. If, however, matters end otherwise, what need is there that for [the fulfilment of] the verse, **'Verily your property and your children are your enemies,'** I should waste the money of my troops ?"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 19*a*, Ms. N. 40*b* & 8*a* & *b*.

Notes.—Mir Hasan, successively created Khanahzad Khan and Ruhullah Khan II, was the son of Ruhullah Khan I. (Life in *M. U.* ii. 315-317). He was 2nd Paymaster and *Khansaman* at the time of his death, 9th May, 1704. Aurangzib means that it is an insult to his religion to describe anything bearing the name of *Islam* as weak, hence the old Hindu name of the place, *viz.*, Barhampuri (Brahma-puri), should have been used ! This incident throws light on the overwhelming financial difficulties of the last years of the reign.

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§ 56. **No money for repairing forts.**

The letter of Mansur Khan, Governor of Aurangabad, was placed before the Emperor. Its purport was, "The Imperial Camp has reached Ahmadnagar. I consider it necessary to apply for an order for the repair of the citadel of Aurangabad, so that by the time of the arrival of the Imperial standard here the repairs may be completed."

The Emperor wrote thus, (*verse*)

"In the grave the earth has opened its arms to invite him,
And the man in his ignorance is painting his house!
It will soon happen that through this negligence, avarice and desire of his,
His bones and flesh will fall apart from one another!

I wonder at [the application of] this old servant who knows my feelings, in the face of my remark made on the day of my arrival at Ahmadnagar, 'Write down Ahmadnagar as the **journey's end.**' What chance is there of my going to Aurangabad, when I have spoken of Ahmadnagar as the **end of my travels?** In so many days of my past life there has been no difference (inconsistency) in my words! God willing, up to the day of my removal to the eternal home, there will be no divergence between my words and acts."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 24*a* & *b*, Ms. N. 10*b* & 31*a*.

Note.—Aurangzib returned to Ahmadnagar, a broken down old man, ruined in health, finance, and prestige, on 20th January, 1706. (*M. A.* 512). We read of a Mansur Khan, who was superintendent of the Deccan artillery from 1699 to 1705. (*M.A.*

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404, 497). A Khwajah Manẓur was *qiladar* of Daulatabad in 1658. (*A. N.* 44). The phrase 'journey's end' is given in Khafi Khan, ii. 541.

§ 57. **Reliance on God in financial difficulty.**

Inayetullah Khan submitted to the Emperor, "The retinue (*misl*) of the officers who are daily paraded before your Majesty is unlimited, while the land for granting *jagirs* is limited. How can an unlimited thing equal a limited one?"

The Emperor wrote, "God pardon us! The Imperial stores (*karkhanah*) are an emblem of the Court of God. **The people are the children of God and their livelihood is in God's charge.** This poor and humble bread-distributer (*i.e.*, Aurangzib) is no more than an agent of the glorious Lord. To believe in the scantiness and limit of God's Court is the essence of infidelity and sin. Praised be God! and again Praised be God! Although my legs are broken, my heart is not broken. After the capture of fort Satara *jagir* for 5 or 7 thousands has, according to the statement of Arshad Khan, been added to the dominions of this mortal (=Aurangzib). Make them assignments on this (new territory). When it is exhausted, God will on a new day give you your livelihood."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 24 *b*.

Note.—Inayetullah Khan (*M. U.* ii. 828) was appointed *diwan of tankhah* in July, 1692. He was the "personal disciple" and favourite Secretary of Aurangzib, and rose to be *wazir* under Bahadur Shah I. Arshad Khan was appointed *diwan* of *khalsa* in 1698, and died in 1701. *M. U.* i. 290.

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§ 58. Mutinous artillery officers cheated.

When the Emperor was marching from Satara towards fort Parli, the pay of the followers (*ahsham*) and men of the artillery was fourteen months in arrear, owing to the delay in the arrival of the revenue of Bengal. All the four trusted Commanders of One Thousand told the Emperor on the way, "Our followers no longer listen to our words. They want to make an outbreak against Tarbiyat Khan, the Chief of the Artillery (*Mir Atish*)." His Majesty ordered, "Give them half their due salary from the public treasury inside the harem. For the rest give an assignment on the revenue of Chicacole in the province of Haidarabad, that they may fetch the money thence. Let the Prime Minister write a permit to the Diwan of Haidarabad and send collectors (*sazawals*) with the artillerymen." Man Singh and Chaturbhuj, both of them Commanders of One Thousand, did not agree to it, dragged Tarbiyat Khan out of his *palki* during the journey, and made him sit down in the midst of the rain. Yar Ali Beg, the Superintendent of the couriers (*harkarah*), reported the matter to His Majesty, who immediately ordered the Superintendent of the treasury of the harem to pay up their salary in full. They kept the Chief of the Artillery sitting in this manner in the rain till evening. After they had got their pay, they mounted him [in his *palki*] and brought him to his quarters.

Next morning the Emperor gave robes of honour to each of the four Commanders of One Thousand and

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said, " You have been brought to this [misery] through the wickedness of the Chief of the Artillery. Tarbiyat Khan's rank is reduced by Five Hundred, and his *jagir* will be decreased to the same extent." After one week he ordered those two Commanders of One Thousand to go to Chicacole and draw in advance six months' salary for their comrades. With his own hand he wrote a *farman* to Jan-nisar Khan, the Governor [of Haidarabad], ordering him to divide the amount into instalments, and every day pay the instalment due. The news reached the other two Commanders of One Thousand who were with the Emperor, and their minds were composed. Then His Majesty ordered that the latter two officers should go to Aurangabad and take from the treasury of that place six months' advance pay for their followers ; and an order was sent to Mamur Khan, the Governor of that Province, to pay the money by instalments.

After ten days His Majesty ordered that the two Commanders of One Thousand who had started first should be confined in the fort of Haidarabad and all the money paid to them, formerly and now, should be taken back! A similar order was also sent to the Governor of Aurangabad, *viz.*, that he should confine (the two men) in the fort of Daulatabad and recover their former and present salaries.

Text.—Ir. Ms. 23*b* & 24*a*.

Notes.—Satara capitulated to Aurangzib on 21st April, 1700, and he marched from it to Parli in three days (28th to 30th April).

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Mir Muhammad Khalil, (eldest son of Darab Khan of the Mukhtar tribe), was created Tarbiyat Khan and *Mir Atish* about 1698. (*M. U.* i. 498—503). Died in the battle of Jajau.

§ 59. Do not provoke a satirical poet.

Kamgar Khan, the son of Jafar Khan, petitioned the Emperor, "Mirza Muhammad Niamat Khan, whose malignant nature is accustomed to satirising, has published certain verses on my marriage, saying, 'The object of it [*i.e.* marriage] is lawful movement, but in this case there is a coupling of two quiescents.' And he has besides introduced into them other disgraceful remarks about me, so that I have been put to shame before the public. I hope that your Majesty will so punish him that he may not again venture to compose such idle tales. It was proper to submit this matter to your Majesty."

Above the words 'it was proper' Aurangzib wrote 'it was wrong (*haram*),' and on the top of the petition he made this remark, "Punishing him will cause greater disgrace [to you than before]. This simple-minded hereditary servant wishes to make me his sharer in this [public] contempt, so that Niamat Khan may say and write about me whatever [satire] he likes and make me notorious to the world. Formerly, too, he had not spared me [in his satires]; in return, I had increased his reward, that he might not do it again; yet in spite of this [favour] he had not on his part been less [satirical]. It is not possible to cut out his tongue and sever his neck. We ought to repress our feelings and live

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in harmony [with others]. **He is a friend, who neither clings to thee nor separates himself from thee."**

Text.—Ms. N. 6*b* 7—7*b* 1.

Notes.—Kamgar Khan, the son of Aurangzib's early *wazir* Jafar Khan and Farzana Begam, (*M.U.* i. 531) was appointed *Khansaman* in 1687, and married the daughter of Syed Muzaffar Haidarabadi in September 1688 (*M.A.* 297, 312). Life in *M.U.* iii. 159. His simplicity was notorious. The first couplet of the satire on his marriage is given in *M.U.* iii. 160, and the whole in *Mazhakat.*

Mirza Muhammad Haji Niamat Khan, poetical name Ali, was the son of an eminent Persian doctor, Hakim Fatihuddin. Under Bahadur Shah he got the title of Danishmand Khan. He wrote the *Jangnamah*, *Waqai*, and *Mazhakat*, and was the most famous satirist of the age (*M.U.* ii. 690, *M.A.* 267, Khafi Khan, ii. 338, 359, Elliot's *History of India*, vii. 200). There is a play upon the word *quiescent*, which means (1) a consonant not followed by a vowel and therefore incapable of being joined to another letter, and (2) a man wanting in virility.

§ 60. A back-biter punished.

From the report of the army of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, who was then at Ahmadabad, the Emperor learnt that one Muhammad Beg, who was of the Prince's troop of *ahadis*, had by means of back-biting secured the Prince's companionship and become the cause of harm to many of his servants.

His Majesty wrote, "Siadat Khan should send strong mace-bearers (sergeants) to bring that graceless back-biter—who is the ruiner of the State—to my presence, walking on foot, because the most harmful

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of all bad things on the part of kings and rich men is the company of back-biters and calumniators. **Mischief-making is worse than murder.** [Ms. N. adds]: According to the saying, **'Verily the outside of a snake is many-coloured, but within it there is poison,'** such is the character of a back-biter that externally he is charming, but at heart he holds a deadly poison. **Avoid him! avoid him!"**

Text.—Ir. Ms. 19*a* & *b*, Ms. N. 9*b*.

Notes.—Prince M. Azam was sent to Guzerat, (capital Ahmadabad), as Governor about the middle of 1701 and stayed there till March, 1706, when he came back to the Court. *Ahadis* were gentlemen troopers, recruited singly, serving the Emperor directly, and not attached to any chief. (Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughals*, 43). Siadat Khan IV, the son of Syed Ughlan (Siadat Khan III) was appointed Superintendent of "the confirmation of postings" in 1699.

§ 61. **Angry Governor punishes his slanderer.**

From the letter of Muhammad Azam, news-writer of the province of Guzerat,—who was one of the Emperor's own retainers (*walashahi*), His Majesty learnt that Muhammad Amin Khan, the Governor of the province, had held court while intoxicated with wine. The Emperor wrote [on the sheet]:—**"God is holy! This is a great slander."** The [Court] agent of Muhammad Amin Khan wrote of this matter to his master. The Governor in open *darbar* ordered the moustaches and beard of the news-writer to be pulled out and flung into the air. This, too, reached the Emperor's knowledge. His Majesty wrote:—"His

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Holiness Ali has said, '**Anger is a sort of madness, and there is no law in anger.**' The Khan has a very violent temper. But in this matter what is known is that the news-writer had calumniated him. What power had he that the smell of wine should reach from the Khan's mouth to his [nostrils]? Anyhow, his punishment belonged to me, and it was improper for the Governor to inflict it himself. The sentence on the lying news-writer is dismissal from his post, and that on the Governor will be withholding from him the robe of honour at the [coronation] festival every year."

Text.—Ir. Ms. *6b—7a.*

Notes.—Muhammad Amin Khan *Hafiz*, son of Mir Jumla, was Governor of Guzerat from 11th June, 1672, to his death, 16th June, 1682. A very proud and self-willed nobleman and a bigoted Shiah. (Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 613).

§ 62. Official discipline—both sides punished!

Yar Ali Beg, the Superintendent of reports (*sawanih*), submitted to the Emperor, "Buzurg Ummed Khan has insulted Abdur Rahim, the report-writer of the province of Bihar, in open audience, and with disgrace turned him out. If no punishment is inflicted [for this], other writers will abstain from writing the truth about occurrences, and become [mere] servants of the provincial Governors. If your Majesty, too, acts according to [the proverb] 'Bad humour always attacks the weakest limb', then your slaves are helpless in obeying [your] orders." The Emperor wrote, "This helpless person [*i.e.*, Aurangzib] himself is ever weak, and he

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considers all men, high and low, to be weak. '**The strong**' is an attribute that belongs only to the pure nature of God. But low persons should never be domineering to high ones. I punish the report-writer with loss of his rank and dismissal, and the provincial Governor with a decrease of 500 in his rank (*mansab*) and the transfer of his *jagir*.

Text.—Ir. Ms. 8*b*, Ms. N. 36*b*—37*b*.

Notes.—Buzurg Ummed Khan, a son of Shaista Khan and the conqueror of Chittagong, was Subahdar of Bihar from 1683 (?) to July, 1692, and again at the time of his death, 12th Feb., 1695. (Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 453). Another instance of his haughtiness is given in *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 454.

§ 63. **Every regulation to be rigidly observed.**

Ruhullah Khan II., whose original name was Mir Hasan, had, on account of the Emperor's great intimacy and trust, been raised to the posts of Paymaster of *tankhah* (salaries) and Chamberlain (*khan-saman*). In spite of his having become a Commander of Three Thousand, he took his own turn of being present as a *khawas*, but stood at the foot of the Court hall. Through the Prime Minister Asad Khan he made the following petition, "My rank is that of a Commander of Three Thousand, and Faizullah Khan *Sarbari*, the Deputy Superintendent, is a Commander of Seven Hundred only. If I am appointed *Sarbari* and Deputy Superintendent, it would be conformable to the favour and grace resulting from your Majesty's custom of cherishing your servants."

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The Emperor ordered, "There is no objection to your being made *Sarbari*, provided that you lose both your present posts and get instead the rank of a Commander of Seven Hundred!" Then Asad Khan asked, "But where should he stand?" The Emperor replied, "There is no place above him except over my own head." Then His Majesty continued, "If a single rule is disregarded, all the regulations will be destroyed. Though I have not allowed the violation of any rule [of the Court], men have grown so bold that they request me to set aside rules! When this practice becomes wide spread, a great difficulty will arise."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 5*b*—6*a*, Ms. N. 32*b*, 11*a*.

Notes.—Mir Hasan, the 2nd son of Ruhullah Khan I. Bakhshi, was created Khanahzad Khan, and in 1697 got the post of *Khan-saman* and his father's title. Appointed *Darogha* of the Imperial retinue, 1699. Created 2nd Bakhshi, Jan. 1701. Died in the fulness of youth, 9th May, 1704. (Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 315—317).

§ 64. Official etiquette enforced.

From the report of the province of Bengal the Emperor learnt that Ibrahim Khan, the Governor, in excess of pomposity and pride, used to hold court while sitting on a couch (*charpai*,) and the Qazi and other officers of Canon Law used to sit in disgrace on the floor. On the sheet of the report the Emperor wrote:—"The Prime Minister should write a 'Letter By Order of the Emperor' to the said Governor, stating that if he is unable to sit on the ground by reason of any disease,

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he is excused till his restoration to health, and he should urge his doctors to cure him soon. As the report-writer (*sawanih-nigar*) has risen to a high rank (*mansab*), he is no longer fit to continue as report-writer. Let him be given a promotion in rank of 100 troopers. Write to Ibrahim Khan to find for him a *faujdari* (militia command) within the jurisdiction of his province, so that the latter too may know the taste of report-writing against himself by (other) writers. Yar Ali Beg should recommend some other report-writer, who has discretion and possesses respect."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 5*a* & *b*, Ms. N. 35*a* & *b*.

Notes.—Ibrahim Khan was Governor of Bengal from 1689 to 1697.

§ 65. Royal prerogative infringed.

From the report of Ahmadabad, then governed by Ibrahim Khan, the Emperor learnt that the Khan used to go to the Cathedral Mosque riding a *palki*. As even the Princes could not go [to church] in a *palki* without the special permission of the Emperor, the news-writers had asked him 'What should we write?' and he had replied 'Write whatever you like.'

On the sheet of the report His Majesty wrote, "Ibrahim Khan is a hereditary servant, aware of my wishes. He has been enrolled among the *amirs* (Commanders) from the time of Shah Jahan (now in heaven), and can never act contrary to the rules. As he was twice Governor, of Kashmir, he rides on *jhampans*,

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which the report-writers here call *palki* from mere resemblance, [in spite of its] difference of shape. Let the Prime Minister write to him, 'Why should you do an act which gives a handle to the news-writers [to complain against you?'] The punishment of the report-writer for his wrong conception is that [though] he is retained at his post, his rank is decreased by 50, and his *jagir* reduced to the same extent.

Text.—Ir Ms. 18*b* & 19*a*.

Notes.—Ibrahim Khan, son of Ali Mardan Khan, was appointed Subahdar of Guzerat in 1705, but arrived at Ahmadabad just at the time of Aurangzib's death (Life in *M.U.* i. 295). He had previously governed Kashmir, 1659—1662, 1677—1689, and 1700—1705. During his administration of Bengal (1689—1697) Rahim Khan's rebellion broke out. *Jhampan* or *Dandi* is a boat-shaped chair carried on men's shoulders in the hills. *Nalki* is an open *Palki* or litter.

§ 66. Ambition of an Abyssinian admiral.

From the news-letter of Machhli-bandar the Emperor learnt that Siddi Yaqut Khan, the *thanahdar* of Danda Rajpuri, had inserted a petition under his own seal in the news-letter, stating that if the collectorship (*mutasaddi-gari*) of Danda Rajpuri were conferred on him, he would render far better service than his predecessors in increasing the prosperity of the place and in sending the Imperial revenue.

Across the sheet of the news-letter the Emperor wrote, "For a long time I have known of this aggressive and self-willed spirit of Siddi Yaqut Khan. [Here the Ms. ends abruptly.]

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Text.—Ms. N. 30*b* 6—12.

Notes.—Siddi Yaqut, an Abyssinian, is described in 1702 as Collector of Danda Rajpuri and virtually the Mughal admiral on the Bombay coast. (*M.A.* 455). Khafi Khan often narrates his history, (ii. 225—228, 453—454). Died about March 1704 (*Ibid*, 514—515). Danda Rajpuri as a town on the Bombay coast, N. W. of Mahabaleshwar, and facing the island of Jinjera, which was the stronghold of the Abyssinians. Machhli-bandar is the modern Masulipatam, near the mouth of the Kistna river, on the east coast.

§ 67. **A fragment.**

The Emperor wrote on the sheet of the application, "Although he is a child, I know him to be a wise child. Probably he made this petition in a state of *sukr* (=intoxication) which is written with the letter *sin* (=*s*) devoid of dots, whereas *shukr* (=gratitude) is written with the letter *shin* (=*sh*) marked with dots, [though] both the words are of the measure of '*qufl*.' For this sort of gratitude, [the term 'shukr'] with that *shin* does not help in [supplying] the measure (*wazn*) [of the word *qufl*].

Text.—Ms. N. 4*a* 7—11. This fragment comes immediately after the text of § 69, but cannot be connected with the latter, as Ruhullah Khan's petition did not contain the word *shukr*.

Note.—The Arabic letter for *s* is turned into *sh* by putting three dots over it. *Measure* &c. are terms of Arabic etymology.

§ 68. **Be not too proud of your good service.**

"Write to Fathullah Khan that his exploits have been known in detail from the despatches, and they

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have become the cause of his welcome at court (*mujra*); but he should not turn this risking of his life into the sale of service (*i.e.*, mercenary work), nor should he displease me by displeasing my generals."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 12*b* & 13*a*. Ms. R. gives only the portion from 'he should not turn.' This letter is given in many of the other collections of Aurangzib's letters, and is No. 123 in the lithographed edition of the *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*. I think it has got into the *Ahkam* by mistake.

Notes.—Mir Muhammad Sadiq, surnamed Fathullah Khan Bahadur Alamgirshahi, distinguished himself at the sieges of Panhala and Khelna, so that the other Imperial generals grew jealous of him. (Khafi Khan, ii. 489; life in *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 40—47).

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SECTION IV.

ABOUT THE SHIAHS AND THE HINDUS.

§ 69. Sunni refuses to marry Shiah's daughter.

RUHULLAH Khan at the time of his death made a will in the presence of Qazi Abdullah. One clause of his will was this: "I am a Sunni, and have withdrawn from the practice of my [Shiah] ancestors. Please wed my two daughters to Sunnis." The Qazi reported the matter to the Emperor, who wrote, "Hyprocrisy is practised in lifetime; but it is a novelty to play the hypocrite on the death-bed! Probably [he has acted so] out of regard for his sons and surviving relatives. This hypocritical step will benefit him only if his sons also assent to it. At all events you ought to act according to his last will. Give his elder daughter to Prince Muhammad Azim and the younger to Siadat Khan, the son of the late Siadat Khan." Next day Siadat Khan submitted, "This house-born slave is unwilling [to marry Ruhullah Khan's daughter]. How do we know that she too holds the creed of the Sunnis? In case she perseveres in her own faith, what can be done?"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 10*a*. incomplete at beginning. Ms. N. 4*a* 1—6.

Notes.—Ruhullah Khan I, the son of Khalilullah Khan and Hamida Banu, was *Bakhshi* or Paymaster from January 1680 to his death (about June 1692). In September 1686 he was appointed Subahdar of Bijapur in addition. One of his daughters was married to Prince Azim, a son of Bahadur Shah, on 26th June 1692. (Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 309-315. His death is des-

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cribed in *M.A.* 348, Khafi Khan, ii. 407.) The title of Siadat Khan (the younger) was given to the son of Siadat Khan Syed Ughlan, in 1698. Khwajah Abdullah (son of M. Sharif) was appointed Qazi of the Imperial Court in May 1685; died 1698.

§ 70. Ruhullah Khan's death and funeral.

When the Emperor went to visit Ruhullah Khan in his [last] illness, he was insensible. On regaining consciousness he made a *salam* and recited the following couplet:

With what pride will this supplicant leave the world,
As you have come to his head at the time of his giving up the ghost!

The Emperor burst into tears and said, "In no condition whatever should one despair of God's grace. Recovery and hope are not remote from His mercy (*i.e.*, beyond His power). But as death is inevitable to every man, tell me your heart's wish, and I shall certainly grant it." Ruhullah Khan stretched out his hand, rubbed it on His Majesty's feet, and said, "Through the blessing of these feet all my wishes in lifetime were gratified. I now pray for this only that your Majesty may not mind the incompetence of my sons, but keep them under the shadow of your training, appoint those that are fit for any office to that post, and, in the case of those that are incompetent, remember the services of their forefathers." The Emperor replied, "I agree with all my heart and life." Then the Khan submitted, "Concerning the marriage of my two daughters, I have already sent a petition to your

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Majesty through the *nazir*, stating that I have been spiritually guided to the Sunni creed, and given up the practices of my [Shiah] ancestors, and requesting that both of them may be married to well-born members of the Sunni sect. I now orally pray that your Majesty may order Qazi Muhammad Akram to come and carry out the washing and shrouding of my corpse." The Emperor bowed his head down, smiled, and said, "Verily love for his children has rendered this man helpless. There is no falling off in your wisdom and power of contrivance. Most probably you have made this plan in the hope that out of respect for the pure soul of a Sunni I shall look graciously at and show kindness to your children. But this plan can do good only if every one of them too says the same thing (*i.e.*, accepts the Sunni creed). There is no probability at all that they would lay this shame (*i.e.*, apostacy) on themselves. However, I ought to carry out your will ostensibly, according to the Canonical Law." Saying this he repeated a passage of the Quran *(fatiha)* and came away. After the Khan's death, the Qazi came according to the will of the deceased. One Aqa Beg, a confidential servant of Ruhullah Khan, showed the Qazi a letter written by the Khan and sealed with his own seal, which stated, "If at the time of washing and shrouding my body, the Qazi comes according to the will of this humble person and the order of the Emperor, Aqa Beg should be appointed the Qazi's deputy for doing this work. This poor man does not venture to

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give trouble to His Holiness the Qazi. The mere fact of the Qazi coming to my house will be the cause of the salvation of this sinner."

This Aqa Beg had outwardly assumed the titles of Aqa and Beg, but he was [really] one of the expert Shiah theologians. The Qazi had discovered his scholarship from his having often at parties entered into discussions fearlessly and promptly when face to face with learned men. The Qazi, on reading the letter, became aware of the truth of the case, *viz.*, the invitation of the Qazi and the delegation of the work [of washing] to Aqa Beg was a mere form of pleasantry (*shakl-i-khush-tabai*). So, being displeased, he told Muhammad Ghaus, the news-writer of the Qazi's court, to put it at once in a letter and send the letter to the Emperor quickly by means of a slave (*qul*), so that an answer might be brought.

When the sheet of the news-letter was presented to the Emperor, he wrote, "At the time of his death he has cast disgrace on the whole of his past life, and spread a covering over the face of his work. It is not necessary for the Qazi to stay there. The late Khan during his lifetime had made deception his characteristic. And at his death, too, he pursued this detestable habit to the end! What concern have I with anybody's faith? Let Jesus follow his own religion and Moses his own. The proposal for the marriage of his daughters to Sunnis was also a kind of stratagem, [employed in the hope] that the poor simple-witted young nobles

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who would be involved in this misfortune (*i.e.*, would marry these Shiah girls) would necessarily, out of love for their wives, withdraw their hands from the long-standing faith of their ancestors and become new converts to Shiahism. **God protect us from the wickedness of our passions and the sinfulness of our actions."**

Text.—Ir. Ms. 13*a*—14*a*, Ms. N. 13*b*—16*a*.

§ 71. Hindu prisoners of war executed.

During the siege of the fort of Satara, in the blessed month of Ramzan, four Muslims and nine Hindus out of a party that had made a sortie from the fort, were taken prisoners. The Emperor ordered Qazi Muhammad Akram, the Court Qazi, to investigate the question with the help of the *muftis* and report as to what should be done. After examining [the Canon Law], he told the Emperor that if the infidels accepted Muhammadanism it would be a ground for releasing them, and that the Muslims should be kept in prison for three years.

Across the sheet of the [legal] problem His Majesty wrote, "This decision [is] according to the Hanafi school ; decide the case in some other way, that control over the kingdom may not be lost. Ours is not the rigid Shiah creed, that there should be only one tree in an entire village.† Praised be God ! there are four schools [of Sunni theology] based on truth, [each] according to its age and time."

† The reading of Ms. N. Its meaning is supplied by Ir. Ms., which reads 'that only one decision can be extracted from it.'

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After he had written this, the Qazi and *muftis* pronounced another decision, saying, "From the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* we derive the sentence that the Hindu and Muslim [prisoners of war] should be executed as a deterrent." The Emperor wrote, "I agree to it. They must be executed before I break the fast [of Ramzan, at sunset], for I shall not break my fast till I have seen the [severed] heads of the rebels." So, Muharram Khan, with the help of Sarbarah Khan *kotwal*, about sunset brought the heads and placed them before the Emperor in the Court.

Text.—Ir. Ms. 8*a* & *b*, Ms. N. 35*b*-36*b*.

Notes.—Satara was captured by Aurangzib after a siege extending from 8th December 1699 to 21st April 1700. Muhammad Akram was appointed Qazi of the Imperial Court in May 1698 and died shortly after October 1705. There are four schools of Islamic law accepted by the Sunnis, *viz.*, the Hanafi, the Shafi, the Hanbali, and the Maliki. The *mufti* is an officer who expounds the law and assists the *Qazi* or judge by supplying him with *fatawas* or decisions. The *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* is a code of the decisions of former Islamic lawyers selected, harmonised and arranged by order of Aurangzib, by a syndicate of scholars under the presidency of Shaikh Nizam, at a cost of nearly two *lakhs* of rupees. It was a mere compilation, with none of the originality and value of the *Code Napoleon*.

§ 72. The Jazia to be inexorably levied.

The Emperor learnt from the letter of Firuz Jang Khan, who was appointed to take care of the base-camp (*bungáh*) at Islampuri and to guard the road from Burhanpur to the place of the Emperor's stay,—"The

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tomb of the old slave-girl, the mother of [this] hereditary servant, is on the other side of the river Bhima. It is necessary to increase the population of the grain-market of the place, and thereby cause much provision to arrive at the Imperial camp. But this [peopling of the place] cannot be effected without abolishing the poll-tox (*jazia*) on the Hindu residents of the place. Please order that Inayetullah Khan may send a letter patent (*sanad*) of exemption [from the *jazia*]"

The Emperor wrote, "**I do not take helpers from among the worshippers.** Your wish for the colonising of the grain-market at the tomb, and your upsetting the command contained in the text of the holy Quran concerning *jazia*,—which is '**[Chastise them till they pay jazia from the hand because] they are disobedient**', by substituting for it the words '**they deserve to be excused**',—are a thousand stages remote from the perfect wisdom and obedience to the august Religious Law which are possessed by this trusted servant aware of my sentiments. Evidently, a group of your companions, —the habit of which party, more **despicable than sweepers,** is **to create suspicion in the hearts of men,** —have made you blind and go astray, and have, through immature greed, given to this worthless idea a place in your heart which is **receptive of allurements.** How can this old man, stricken in years and experienced in affairs [*i.e.*, Aurangzib], be deceived? (*Verse*)

Go away! and set this trap for another bird,
As the nest of the Phœnix is built too high."

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Text—Ms. N. 5*b* 10—6*b* 6.

Notes—Firuz Jang was sent in October 1701 to guard the Imperial base-camp at Islampuri, on the Bhima river. (*M.A.* 445.) For Aurangzib's strictness in collecting the *jazia*, see Khafi Khan, ii. 279, 378.

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WHO BUILT THE TAJ MAHAL?

MUMTAZ MAHAL'S DEATH.

IN 1607 A. D., when Shah Jahan (then Prince Khurram) was 15 years old, his father Jahangir betrothed him to Arjmand Banu Begam (afterwards surnamed Mumtaz Mahal), a daughter of Nur Jahan's brother, Asaf Khan. Five years afterwards (1612), the marriage was celebrated: the bridegroom was then 20 years and 3 months of age, and the bride just 14 months younger. After 19 years of wedded life, in which she bore 14 children to her royal husband, the Begam died of the pain of child-birth, prolonged for 30 hours, at Burhanpur, on Tuesday, 7th June, 1631 (17 Ziqada, 1040 A. H.)

Shah Jahan was so overpowered by grief that for one week he could not bring himself to appear at the window of the hall of audience, or to attend to any affair of State. He said that he would have turned *faqir* for the rest of his life, if kingship were not a sacred charge which no one can lay aside at his pleasure. He gave up the use of coloured dress, scents, and jewels; forbade music and song at the annual coronation and birthday ceremonies,—indeed they now sounded strangely like dirges and wailing in his ears. His beard which had not more than 20 grey hairs, now rapidly turned white. At every visit to her tomb, he used to shed "rivers of tears" over her remains, and lament, saying, "Empire has no sweetness, life itself

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has no relish left for me now!" If he visited the *harem*, he promptly returned weeping and sighing, "Nobody's face can delight me now!" True, Shah Jahan had married two other wives, the daughters of Muzaffar Husain Mirza and Shah Nawaz Khan, 2 years before and 5 years after his union with Mumtaz Mahal; but these were political alliances (*ba iqtiza-e-maslihate*), not love-matches. Mumtaz Mahal so fully occupied his heart that there was no space left there for any other love; and the Emperor in weal and woe, in settled residence and travel, never parted with her company. (*Padishahnamah*, i. 387, and *Muntakhab-ul-Labab*, i. 459).

The following account of her death is given in a rare Persian manuscript (the auto-biography of Qasim Ali Afridi, affixed to his *Diwan*), belonging to the Khuda Bakhsh Library. The story seems to be current at Agra, and is also found in a Ms. treatise on the Taj which has been lent by the Khuda Bakhsh Library to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

"Shah Jahan had, besides his four sons, four daughters; Anjuman-ara, Gaiti-ara, Jahan-ara, and Dahar-ara [Gauhar-ara]. It is said that just before the birth of the last, a sound of crying was heard in the womb of Mumtaz Mahal. Immediately on hearing it, the Begam despaired of her life, summoned the Emperor to her side, and said in plaintive accents, 'It is well-known that when the babe cries in the womb, the mother can never survive its birth. Now that it is my lot to leave

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this mortal sphere for the eternal home, O King ! pardon aught that I may have said amiss. Pardon every fault that I may have committed, as I am about to set out on my last journey.....Sir King ! I shared your lot at the time of your captivity [in your father's reign] and other afflictions. Now that the Lord God has given it to you to rule the world, I have, alas, to depart in sorrow ! Promise to keep my two last requests.' The Emperor promised 'on his life and soul,' and asked her to state her wishes. She replied, 'God has given you four sons and four daughters. They are enough to preserve your name and fame. Raise not issue on any other woman, lest her children and mine should come to blows for the succession. My second prayer is that you should build over me such a mausoleum that the like of it may not be seen anywhere else in the world.' Then, a moment after giving birth to Dahar-ara, she died." (Pp. *22b-23a*).

But the above is merely a popular legend. The contemporary historian, Abdul Hamid Lahori (author of the *Padishahnamah*) is silent about it. He describes the death-scene thus :

"When the Begam learnt that her death was certain, she sent the Princess Jahan-ara to call the Emperor to her. He at once arrived in great concern and sorrow. She commended her sons and her mother to his care and then set out on her last journey." (i. 386).

Her body was at first laid in the earth in a building within a garden on the bank of the river Tapti opposite

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Burhanpur. On the Ist December following her death, it was taken out and sent to Agra in charge of Prince Shuja, arriving at the latter town on the 20th of the month. (i. 402).

THE TAJ, ITS BUILDERS AND STONES.

A spacious tract of land, south of Agra city, was chosen for the burial place, and purchased from its owner, Rajah Jai Singh, the grandson of Man Singh (*Padishahnamah*, i. 403). Plans for the tomb were submitted by all the master architects of the land. When one of these was approved by the Emperor, a wooden model of it was first made (*Diwan-i-Afridi*, 23*a*).

Begun early in 1632, the Taj was completed in January 1643, under the supervision of MUKARRAMAT KHAN and MIR ABDUL KARIM, at an expense of fifty lakhs of rupees (*Muntakhab-ul-Labab*, i. 596, and *Padishahnamah*, ii. 322 *et seq.*). The *Diwan-i-Afridi* estimates the cost at 9 crores and 17 lakhs of rupees and names the following artisans as employed in the construction :—

(1) Amanat Khan Shirazi, writer of Tughra inscriptions, from Qandahar.

(2) Master (*ustád*) Isa, mason, a citizen of Agra.

(3) Master Pirá, carpenter, a resident of Delhi.

(4-6) Banuhár, Jhat Mal. and Zoráwar, sculptors, from Delhi.

(7) Ismail Khan Rumi, maker of the dome and the scaffolding (*dhola*) supporting it.

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(8) Rám Mal Kashmiri, gardener. (P. 23 *a* and *b*.)

Other workmen are named in a recent Urdu work on the Taj, but I know not on what authority.

The following twenty kinds of precious stones were set in the Taj, (*Diwan-i-Afridi*, 23 *b*):—

(1) Cornelian from Qandahar.
(2) Lapis lazuli from Ceylon.
(3) Onyx from 'the upper world' (?)
(4) *Patunja* from the river Nile.
(5) Gold [stone?] from Basrah and the sea of Ormuz.
(6) *Khatu* from the hill of Jodhpur.
(7) *Ajuba* from the hill-rivers of Kumaon.
(8) Marble from Makrána.
(9) *Mariama* from the city of Basrah.
(10) *Badl*-stone from the river Banas.
(11) *Yamini* from Yemen.
(12) *Mungah* from the Atlantic Ocean.
(13) *Ghori* from Ghor-band.
(14) *Tamrah* from the river Gandak.
(15) Beryl from the hill of Bábá Budhan.
(16) *Musai* from Mount Sinai.
(17) *Gwaliori* from the river of Gwalior.
(18) Red [sand-] stone from all directions.
(19) Jasper from Persia.
(20) *Dalchana* from the river Asan.

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ITS ENDOWMENT.

On the 12th anniversary of her death, (27th January, 1643), Shah Jahan visited the Taj Mahal, and bestowed in *waqf* 30 villages of the parganahs of Agra and Nagarchin, yielding a revenue of 1 lakh of rupees, and the serais and shops adjoining the tomb, producing another lakh of rupees in rent, for the up-keep of the mausoleum and the support of the pious men placed in it. The *Padishahnamah* (ii. 327) gives a list of these villages, (only 29, however, being named.)

[*** Qasim Ali Khan Afridi was born in 1771 and died in 1827 A. D. His father was named Burhan Khan, and his grand-father Neknam Khan.]

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THE COMPANION OF AN EMPRESS.

THE following biographical sketch gives us a picture of the inner life of the Mughal Court at the height of its glory, introduces to us a learned and accomplished Persian lady, and finally tells the simple and sad tale of a mother's love and grief which has an interest quite apart from its value as a side-light on Indian history.

The Persians, who have been rightly called 'the French of Asia', supplied many of the most brilliant gems that gathered round the throne of India's Muhammadan rulers. From Persia came Muhammad Gawan, the heaven-born minister of the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan, Mir Jumla, the right-hand man of Aurangzib, Abul Fath, the physician and friend of Akbar, Ali Mardan Khan, the general and administrator, Ruhullah Khan, the finance minister of Aurangzib, and many other worthies of the field and the council-chamber. From Persia, too, came the highly accomplished lady who is the subject of this memoir.

Sati-un-nissa (lit. 'the lance-head among women') was the daughter of a respectable native of Mazendran, a province of Persia, and belonged to a family of scholars and physicians. Her brother Taliba Amuli, was unrivalled in his age in the choice of words and the power of clothing fine sense in equally fine phrases, and earned the title of "Prince of Poets" at the Court of Jahangir. When her husband Nasira, a brother of

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the great physician Raknai Kashi, died in India, Sati-un-nissa entered the service of Mumtaz Mahal, the renowned Empress of Shah Jahan. Here her ability, charm of speech, perfect mastery of the proper conduct of a dependent, and knowledge of medicine and various kinds of treatment, won her royal mistress's heart, and she was promoted above all the old servants and entrusted with the Empress's seal, the badge of the head of her establishment. She was a good elocutionist and could recite the Quran well and read Persian works in prose and verse properly. For her literary accomplishments she was appointed tutoress to the Princess Royal Jahanara, and very soon taught her to read the Quran and write Persian.

She was also the intermediary of the Emperor's charity to women. Whenever she heard of an honest woman in distress or of a virgin too poor to be married, she reported the case to the Empress, and the latter brought it to the Emperor's ear on his coming to the harem in the evening. Large sums were daily spent in helping these poor women, lands and daily stipends or cash bounties were given to the wives and widows, and ornaments and money paid to the virgins. Sati-un-nissa acted as the Imperial almoneress, and the historian praises her as "attentive, eloquent, expert, and gentle in manner."

When the Empress died (7th June, 1631), Sati-un-nissa, as her chief servant and agent, accompanied the corpse to its last resting-place at Agra (the Taj Mahal).

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Shah Jahan, as a loving husband, faithfully cherished her memory and did not marry again, though he survived her by 35 years. The duties of the late Empress, as the female head of the Imperial family, now fell to her eldest daughter Jahanara, and she had to play her mother's part in conducting marriage ceremonies, entertaining female guests, and performing other social functions peculiar to the mistress of a household. In this task she was ably assisted by her former tutor, Sati-un-nissa, to whom she gave her seal and control of her household staff, on her mother's death. Thus the subject of our memoir continued to be the highest lady servant of the Mughal Empire, and was like a mother to the orphan princes and princesses.

At every marriage of a prince of the blood royal, Sati-un-nissa, as a sort of female *major domo*, conveyed the Imperial presents to the bride's house. The male officers who accompanied her stayed outside, while she entered the harem and made over the gifts to the bride's mother, from whom she received liberal rewards for her pains. Mumtaz Mahal before her death used to lay aside money, jewels and precious articles, in view of her sons' marriage when they would grow up. Jahanara constantly added to them. At the time of marriage these were spent in offering tribute to the Emperor, gifts to the princes and Begams, and presents and robes to the nobles and courtiers. At the marriage of the Crown Prince Dara Shukoh, (11th November, 1632), these amounted to sixteen lakhs of rupees,—seven

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lakhs in jewels, one lakh in cash, four lakhs in gold and silver ornaments and rare articles of all countries in the world, and the balance in elephants and horses. By order of Jahanara, Sati-un-nissa arranged all this vast collection for display in the spacious courtyard of Agra Fort in front of the window at which the Emperor used to show his face to his adoring subjects.

At night the whole place was illuminated, forming a sort of exhibition. The courtiers and nobles feasted their eyes on the treasures, and even the Emperor condescended to pay a visit.

So, too, at the marriage of the second prince, Shujah (23rd February, 1633), a display was made of wedding presents worth 10 lakhs of rupees, all supplied by Mumtaz Mahal and Jahanara. Sati-un-nissa's capacity for organisation and artistic taste must have found ample scope for exercise in getting up such exhibitions.

In addition to being the head servant of Jahanara, Sati-un-nissa was also made by the Emperor the *Sadar* or Superintendent of the harem, in reward of her fidelity and obedience. She had also to wait at the Emperor's table and serve him with provisions,—as the most honoured and trusted of women attendants. Thus she was constantly in the Emperor's eyes and was most kindly treated by him.

She had no child of her own, but adopted the two daughters of her late brother, Taliba. On them she lavished all the love and maternal yearnings of a childless widow's heart. The younger of the two, on

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whom she particularly doted, was married to Hakim Zia-ud-din, a nephew of her late husband. The bridegroom was brought over from Persia and cherished at the Imperial Court through her influence. But this young woman, the centre of all Sati-un-nissa's affection, died of a long illness following childbirth (10th January, 1647). A mother's grief is too strong for any earthly control. Sati-un-nissa, "in spite of her wisdom and philosophy, cast off all patience, and abandoned herself to mourning for eleven days is her house, outside the citadel of Lahore."

But Shah Jahan was the kindest of men, a model husband, father and master of household. He could not neglect an old servant. On 22nd January, hoping that her grief had now somewhat abated, he kindly had her brought to her official residence within the Imperial harem, went there in the company of Jahanara, consoled her in many ways, and took her with himself to the palace.

Next day, as the Emperor went out to hunt, Sati-un-nissa returned to her own house for some necessary works. After eating her meal and saying the evening prayers, she betook herself to reading the *Quran*.

At about 8 P.M. she suddenly cried out, "I feel like being choked," and rapidly grew worse. The Persian doctor Masih-uz-Zaman, a distant relative, was immediately summoned. At his arrival, she bowed to salute him, then raised her head, and at once sank down on her side. The pulse was still beating; the doctor and

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her son-in-law continued applying remedies for fainting, but to no purpose. When the pulse failed, they knew that she had left the world. Thus she followed her daughter in death by a fortnight only.

Next day (24th January) the news reached Shah Jahan in the hunting camp. He was deeply touched, and ordered all honour to be shown to her mortal remains and Rs. 10,000 to be spent on her funeral. After more than a year the body was taken out and finally buried west of the Taj Mahal, close to the outer quadrangle, in a tomb built by Government at an expense of Rs. 30,000. A village yielding Rs. 3,000 a year was assigned for the pay of its attendants. Thus she was not parted from her beloved master and mistress even in death.

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THE WEALTH OF IND, 1650.

WHEN Milton wrote,

> High on a throne of royal state, which far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind,
> Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
> Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,—

could he have been thinking of India under Shah Jahan, the builder of the Taj and the Peacock Throne? For, the finest example of eastern royal magnificence was afforded by that king's Court. The contemporary history of Abdul Hamid Lahori enables us to estimate accurately the wealth of the Mughal Emperor in 1648. A rupee of that time was worth 2*s.* 3*d.*, but its purchasing power was about seven times that of to-day.

The **revenue** was 20 *krores* of rupees (22½ million pounds), of which the newly acquired provinces.—Daulatabad, Telingana, and Baglana,—yielded 1½ *krores*. The Crown-lands supplied the Emperor's privy purse with three *krores* of rupees (3½ million pounds sterling).

In the first twenty years of his reign, Shah Jahan spent 9½ *krores* of rupees in rewards and gifts,—about 4½ *krores* in cash and 5 *krores* in kind. His **buildings** absorbed more than three millions sterling, as the following list will show:

At Agra—

The Pearl Mosque and the palaces and gardens in the fort	60	lakhs
The Taj Mahal	50	„

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At Delhi—		
Palaces	50	lakhs
Jumma Masjid	10	„
New wall round Delhi	4	„
The *Idgah* outside Delhi	½	„
At Lahore—		
Palaces, gardens, and canal	50	„
At Kabul—		
Mosque, palace, fort, and city-wall	12	„
In Kashmir—		
Royal buildings and gardens	8	„
At Qandahar, &c.—		
Forts of Qandahar, Bist, and Zamindawar ...	8	„
At Ajmir, &c.—		
Ajmir, Ahmadabad, &c. (buildings)	12	„
At Mukhlispur—		
Imperial palaces	6	„
Crown Prince Dara Shukoh's palace	2	„
	272½	„
	=£3,065,625	

The Imperial **jewellery** was worth 5 *krores* of rupees, besides two *krores'* worth given away to the princes and others. Of the former, the Emperor wore on his head, neck, arms, and waist fully two *krores'* worth; these were kept in the *harem* in charge of the women servants, while the remainder (worth 3 *krores*) was deposited in the outer apartments in the custody of the slaves.

His rosary contained 5 rubies and 30 pearls, and was valued at 8 *lakhs*. There were two other rosaries of 125 large round rubies worthy of kings; between every pair of beads was a coloured *yaqut* (topaz?) The midmost bead in each rosary weighed 32 *ratis* (=28 carats) and cost Rs. 40,000, and the price of the two

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strings taken together reached 20 *lakhs*. They had been mostly collected by Akbar.

Only second-rate jewels were, however, put in the Emperor's rosary (the first named one). All the largest and finest rubies were reserved for his *sarpech* (aigrette or jewel worn on the turban). This ornament was tied to his head-dress on the anniversary of the coronation: it had 5 large rubies and 24 pearls set on it;—of these the largest ruby in the centre weighed 288 *ratis* (=252 carats) and was valued at two *lakhs* of rupees, though in the market it would have been considered cheap at 4 *lakhs*. The total price of the *sarpech* was 12 *lakhs*. On 11th November, 1644, a big pear-like pearl costing Rs. 40,000 and weighing 43 *surkhs* (=124 gr. Troy?) was added to it. The largest ruby (or diamond?) in the Imperial treasury was about 430 *ratis* (=378 carats) in weight and worth two *lakhs*, but it had not the flawless lustre of the central gem of the *sarpech*. Yet another ruby, shaped like a pear, and weighing 47 *ratis* (=41 carats) only, cost half a *lakh*.

On 12th March, 1635, Shah Jahan sat for the first time on the newly finished **Peacock Throne**. "Many gems had been collected by three generations of Emperors,—Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan. Of what use were they if the people could not gaze at them?" asks the Court annalist, Abdul Hamid Lahori. So, all the jewels in the outer palace (worth 2 *krores*) were ordered to be shown to the Emperor, and out of them he chose the very best, valued at 16 *lakhs*. With

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one *lakh tolahs* (=3255lb Troy) of pure gold, equivalent to 14 *lakhs* of rupees, the artisans of the Imperial gold-smith department under the superintendence of Bebadal Khan, constructed a throne 3¼ yards long, 2½ yards broad, and 5 yards high, and studded it with these jewels. The inner roof was enamelled and had only a few stones set here and there; but the outside was covered with rubies, *yaquts*, and other gems. Twelve pillars of emerald supported this roof. Above it were placed two figures of peacocks ornamented with jewels, and between them a tree set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, and pearls.

Three jewelled steps led up to the Emperor's seat, which was surrounded on eleven sides with jewelled planks serving as railings; (the twelfth was open, being in front of the Emperor and just above the steps).

Of these eleven panels the most splendid was the middle one, on which the Emperor rested his arm in reclining. It cost 10 *lakhs* of rupees, its central ruby alone being worth one *lakh*. This ruby had been presented by Shah Abbas I., the Persian king, to Jahangir, and had inscribed on it the names of Timur, Mir Shahrukh, Mirza Ulugh Beg, Shah Abbas, Jahangir the son of Akbar, and Shah Jahan! Inside the throne, a poem by Haji Muhammad Jan Qudsi, in 20 couplets, was inscribed in letters of enamel, the last three words (*Aurang-i-shahanshah-i-adil*) giving the date of its construction. Apart from the salary of the craftsmen,

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the materials alone of the throne cost one *krore* of rupees.

Such vast treasures would naturally tempt spoilers from far-off lands, and required a strong force to safeguard them. Accordingly, we find that the Imperial army in 1648 comprised—

	200,000	cavalry,
	8,000	*mansabdars* (commanders),
	7,000	*ahadis* (gentlemen troopers) and mounted musketeers,
	40,000	foot musketeers* and artillerymen,
in addition to	185,000	cavalry under the princes and nobles.
TOTAL ...	440,000	

These did not include the local militia posted in the *parganahs* and commanded by the *faujdars*, *kroris* (District Collectors,) and *amlas*,—who must have numbered several *lakhs* more. In a letter written just before his captivity Shah Jahan describes himself as the lord of 900,000 troopers. The total armed strength of the empire, then, approached one million of men, though it did not include all India.†

* Of these, 10,000 accompanied the Emperor and the remaining 30,000 were quartered in the various *Subahs*.

† Authorities,—for Revenue (Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, II. 711-714); Buildings (*Ibid* and Waris's *Padishahnamah*, Khuda Bakhsh MS., 101*b*, 116*a*, 122*b*); Jewellery (Abdul Hamid, II. 391-393); Peacock Throne, (*Ibid*, I. B. 77-81); Army (*Ibid*, II. 715).

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DAILY LIFE OF SHAH JAHAN.

POPULAR VIEW WRONG.

THE Mughal palaces at Delhi and Agra every year draw thousands of visitors from far and near. Their beauty and splendour have moved the wonder of the world and the rapture of admiring artists and eloquent writers. The globe-trotter in India gives them the foremost place in his tour programme. Photographs and lantern-slides have made them familiar to far off lands and home-staying people.

But what is it that the common tourist sees in them? He may feast his eyes on their delicate mosaics and reliefs; he may soothe his spirit in the cool recesses of these pure white domes. But what he looks at is after all stone, bare stone. Does he ever reflect that these halls were once full of life, crowded with all the moving pageants of a Court? Does he try to realise that life of a bygone world, so distant, so unlike his? If so, what is his mental picture of it?

We are afraid that most Europeans still lie under the spell of the popular novelists. With them, all Oriental kings were heartless brainless despots, full of pride and ignorance, surrounded by pimps and sycophants, squeezing the last farthing out of a down-trodden peasantry, and spending their hoards on sensual pleasure or childish show,—who passed their lives in toying with women in the harem, in listening to the fulsome praise

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of faithless courtiers, or in stupefying themselves with intoxicants,—men whose animal existence was never ennobled by intellectual exercise or spiritual musing, æsthetic culture or the discipline of work. Such is the Sultan (or Rajah) of nearly every English novel, with his jewelled turban, curled up moustaches, bloodshot eyes, nose high up in the air, and a small arsenal thrust into his waist-band. This idea has been impressed on the general public of Europe by popular writers, who sacrifice truth to literary effect, and whose ignorace of Eastern history is only equalled by their pride in everything Western.

But a little reflection will show that this view cannot possibly be true. From Akbar to Aurangzib we had four great rulers, who reigned in unbroken succession for a century and a half (1556—1707), extended their dominion, maintained peace at home and respect abroad, developed an administrative system in all its branches, and carried many arts towards perfection. Could this work have been done by sleepy voluptuaries? The world is not so easily governed. Inefficiency has a very short lease even in the East. An empire like that of the "Great Mughals" in its best days could not have been a dead machine; administration, arts and wealth could not have developed, as they did develop in that period, if we had had only *faineants* on the throne, in the council-chamber, and at the head of armies.

Happily the contemporary Persian histories fully describe the Emperor's daily routine of work and

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enable us to picture the life of his Court. Let us see how Shah Jahan lived and worked in his beloved palace of Agra. (True, he founded New Delhi and named it after himself, but Agra was the city of his heart.)

EMPEROR'S DAILY ROUTINE.

A.M.

4 —Wakes—Prayer—Reading.
6-45—Appears at *Darsan* window—elephant combats—review of cavalry.
7-40—Public Darbar *(Diwan-i-am)*.
9-40—Private Audience *(Diwan-i-khas)*.
11-40—Secret Consultation in the *Shahburj*.
12 —In harem—meal—siesta—charity to women.

P.M.

4 —Public Audience—Evening prayer.
6-30—Evening assembly in the *Diwan-i-khas*.
8 —Secret Council in the *Shahburj*.
8-30—In the harem—music.
10 —Hears books read.
10-30—4 A.M.—Sleeps.

MORNING PRAYER.

The Emperor woke from his sleep about two hours before sunrise, and after his morning toilet spent some time in religious devotions. After saying the customary prayer based on the Prophet's *Traditions*, which is not obligatory on Muslims, he sat with his face towards Mecca, reciting the verses of the *Quran* and meditating on God. Shortly before sunrise, he performed the first obligatory prayer of the day in the palace mosque, and then engaged in his worldly duties.

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DARSAN.

His first work was to show himself to his subjects. In the eastern wall of Agra fort, overlooking the foreshore of the Jumna which stretches like a plain below, there was a window called the *jharokha-i-darsan*, from the Sanskrit word *darsan* meaning the sight of some one high or holy. Vast crowds of expectant people assembled on the bank every morning. The Emperor appeared at the window about 48 minutes after sunrise, and showed his face to his subjects, who at once bowed, while he returned their salute. From two to three quarters of an hour were spent here, not merely in showing himself, but also in business and pleasure. The plain being outside the fort walls, the public had free access to it, and the oppressed could submit their petitions or make their complaints to the Emperor, without having to grease the palms of door-keepers and court-underlings, or going through the tedious and costly process of a law suit. Thus the Emperor daily came in touch with the common people and could freely learn their thoughts and feelings. Often a string was let down from the window, and the petitions tied to it and pulled up by the attendants above for immediate submission to the Emperor. This wise practice was instituted by the great Akbar. Curiously enough, there was a class of Brahmans, called the *Darsanis*, who did not begin their day's work nor eat their breakfast until they had gazed at the auspicious face of the Emperor!

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After the public salute and admission of complaints were over, the plain was cleared, and elephant-fights took place there. This was the special prerogative of the Emperor, and not even the princes of the blood could order such a fight for themselves. Shah Jahan was specially fond of this sport, and on some days as many as five pairs of elephants were made to fight single combats in succession for his delight. This spacious plain was a safe place for their wild charges, encounter, and pursuit. In the fort quadrangle hundreds of spectators would have been trampled to death by these moving mountains.

Fierce war-elephants and newly captured ones, which had not been fully tamed, were here shown to the Emperor. It was impossible to take them, like the other elephants, to the court-yard inside the fort. On the river-side, too, war-elephants were trained to charge cavalry, and thus made to lose their natural fear of horses. Here were also paraded the horses of the Imperial army and of the retainers of the nobles.

DIWAN-I-AM.

Next took place the Public Darbar in the *Diwan-i-am* or Hall of Public Audience. Akbar and Jahangir used to hold Court at the very same spot, but under canvas awnings stretched on poles set up for the occasion. In 1628 Shah Jahan built a gilt and decorated wooden pavilion, for the shelter of the courtiers. This

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was replaced in 1638 by the present *Diwan-i-am*, a stately edifice of red sandstone, painted white with lime, supported on 40 noble pillars, and open on three sides. In the centre of the fourth side or back is a raised alcove of the purest white marble, richly decorated with *pietra dura* work and low reliefs of flowers and foliage. Here sat the Emperor overlooking the hall below.

GRAND DARBAR.

In the Persian histories we have a detailed account of how a grand *darbar* was held in those days. The Emperor sat on his cushioned seat in the alcove. On his right and left were the princes, his sons; these took their seats only when commanded to do so. In the Hall stood the courtiers, officers, nobles, and gentry in due order, with their backs to the three open sides. Those who attended on the Emperor's person were stationed on his right and left near the two pillars close to the alcove, their backs being turned to the wall. Facing the Emperor, stood the chief officers of State, rank behind rank, according to their gradation. The royal standard bearers, holding the golden banners and *tugh* and *qur**, were drawn up on the Emperor's left with their backs to the wall.

Thus the entire Hall, 201 feet long and 67 feet broad, was filled with men. But it was too small to hold all who deserved or sought audience. Silver railings

* The Turkish standard of balls and the Yak cow's tail fixed on a rod and borne aloft. The Mughal Emperors were Turks of the Chaghtai tribe.

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fenced it round on the three sides with only three openings in them. In the court-yard in front a space was enclosed with a railing of painted wood on which velvet canopies richly embroidered with gold were spread. Here stood all men below commanders of two hundred, archers of the guard, musketeers, and some of the retainers of the nobles, when they attended the darbar. At the doors of the Hall and of the two railings (silver and wooden) trustworthy mace-bearers and sergeants-at-arms in their splendid uniforms kept guard, excluding strangers and persons who had no *entree* at Court.

The audience stood ready and expectant, when, at about 7-40 A.M., the Emperor entered the alcove by the back door, took his seat, and the business of the Court began.

The High Bakhshi or Paymaster-General reported to the Emperor the petitions of the military officers or *mansabdars*, and immediately received His Majesty's orders giving promotions to some, new posts to others. Officers who had come to the capital from the provinces had audience. Those who had been newly appointed to some province or post were next presented by the heads of their departments, *viz.*, the Commandant of the Artillery (*Mir atish*), the Paymaster of the mounted musketeers, or the Paymaster of the gentlemen troopers (*ahadis.*) These chiefs recommended every deserving man among them for some royal favour. The presentees bowed and got their *congee*, usually accompanied by a

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robe of honour and gift in the form of jewellery, horse or arms.

Next came the clerks of the Department of Crown-lands or the Emperor's privy purse. Through their chiefs,—the *Mir-saman* and the *Diwan-i-bayutat*, they submitted their various proposals and got prompt orders from His Majesty.

Then the courtiers who enjoyed the Emperor's confidence placed before him the despatches of the princes, and of the governors, *faujdars*, *diwans* (revenue heads,) *bakhshis* and other officers of the provinces, and also any presents (*peshkash*) sent by them.

The letters of the princes and chief officers were read or heard by the Emperor himself. The purport only of the rest was reported to him. When this work was over, the Chief *Sadr* reported the important points of the despatches of the provincial *Sadrs* sent to him. He also brought to the Emperor's notice cases of needy scholars, Syeds, Shaikhs, and pious men, and got grants of money for each according to his need or deserts.

The work of public charity being over, orders previously passed about *mansabs*, *jagirs*, cash grants, and other financial affairs, were submitted to the Emperor a second time for confirmation. There was a special officer to remind the Emperor of these things, and he bore the title of the *darogha* of *arz-i-mukarrar*.

Next, the officers of the Imperial stables displayed before His Majesty the horses and elephants with their fixed rations. This practice had been started by Akbar

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in order to punish those officers who stole the Imperial grant and starved the animals. If any horse or elephant looked lean or weak, the money allowed for its feeding was resumed and the officer in charge of it reprimanded. Similarly the retainers of the nobles, whose horses had been recently mustered and branded, were paraded in full equipment in the court-yard within view of the Emperor. The darbar lasted two hours, sometimes more or less according to the amount of the business to be done.

DIWAN-I-KHAS.

Then, a little before 10 A.M., His Majesty went to the Hall of Private Audience* and sat on the throne. Here he wrote with his own hand the answers to the most important letters. Of the other letters a few were read to him by the Court agents of the high grandees, or by the *wazir*, or by the officers appointed to submit the despatches of the provincial viceroys. In reply to them, *farmans* or Imperial letters were drafted by the ministers in the terms of their master's verbal orders. The drafts were afterwards revised and corrected by the Emperor, written out fair, and sent to the harem to be sealed with the Great Seal,† of which the Empress Mumtaz Mahal had charge.

The highest revenue officers now reported on very

* Called in Hindustani the *Ghusal khana* because Akbar's bath-room was adjacent to its site.

† *Uzuk*, a small round seal, bearing only the Emperor's name, affixed to *Sahti farmans*. (Blochmann's *Ain*, i. 52 & 260).

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important matters connected with the Crownlands, and the assignments on revenue made in favour of military officers, and learnt the Emperor's pleasure on each point. The Head of the Royal Charity Department brought to the Emperor's notice special cases of needy men; most of them received cash grants, some lands, others daily stipends. A fund was created for this purpose out of the gold, silver and jewels against which the Emperor was weighed (*wazan*) every birthday, and the money which was offered by the nobles and princes as sacrifice (*tasadduq*) in order to avert calamities and bad omens from him.

Then a short time was passed in inspecting the works of skilful artisans, such as jewel-setters, enamellers, &c. Plans of royal buildings were placed in his hands, and he added elements of beauty to them or made alterations where necessary. On the plans finally approved, the prime minister Asaf Khan wrote an explanation of the Emperor's wishes, for the guidance of the architects. This was an important work, as Shah Jahan was very fond of building noble edifices,—which will remain as his memorial to all time. The Superintendent of the Public Works Department with expert architects attended this private darbar to consult their master.

These works being over, the Emperor occasionally looked at the hunting animals, hawks and leopards. which had been trained for him. Mettled horses, ridden by expert horse-tamers, were made to go through their

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exercises in the yard of the private palace, under His Majesty's eyes.

SHAH BURJ

Nearly two hours were thus occupied, and at about half past eleven the Emperor left this Hall and entered the lofty *Shah Burj* or Royal Tower. The most confidential business was done here. None but the princes and a few trusted officers could enter this tower without special permission. Even the servants had to stand outside, till they were sent for.

Secret affairs of State, which it would have been harmful to make public, were discussed with the Grand *Wazir*. A *precis* was made of the important and confidential letters to be sent to noblemen serving in the distant provinces. Such urgent matters about the Crownlands, the payment of the military, &c., as had been submitted in the two previous darbars of the day were now reported by the *wazir* and the Emperor's orders taken on them. Some three quarters of an hour were usually spent here, but the time varied according to the amount of the business to be despatched.

IN THE HAREM AT NOON.

It was now nearly midday and the Emperor entered the harem, where he performed the *zuhar* prayer, ate his meal, and took a nap for an hour. With most kings the harem is a place of pleasure and rest. But work pursued Shah Jahan even there. A crowd of female beggars—poor widows and orphans, maidens of decayed

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families, daughters of poor scholars, theologians and pious men,—besought the royal charity. Their petitions were put before the Empress by her chief servant Sati-un-nissa, called the Female Nazir; and Her Majesty reported the cases to the Emperor, who gave lands to some, pensions or donations to others, and garments, jewels, and money as the dowries of maidens too poor to marry. Large sums were every day spent in the harem in this work of relief.

AFTERNOON AUDIENCE.

Shortly after 3 P.M. the Emperor performed his '*asar* prayer, and sometimes visited the Hall of Public Audience again. The men present bowed. A little State business was gone through in a short time. The palace-guards, called *chawkidars*, were drawn up before him and presented their arms. Then His Majesty joined the congregation of his Court to perform the sunset prayer in the Private Audience Hall.

SOIREE IN THE DIWAN-I-KHAS.

The day was now spent, but the day's work was not yet over. The *Diwan-i-khas* was lit up with fragrant candles set in jewelled candelabra, the Emperor and his choice associates gathered here and spent some two hours, at first in attending to the administration and afterwards in pleasure. But it was pleasure of an elevated and refined character. He heard music, vocal and instrumental, and often deigned to join in it. If we may trust the Court chronicler, Shah Jahan was a

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past master of Urdu song, and his performances were so sweet and charming that "many pure-souled *Sufis* and holy men with hearts withdrawn from the world, who attended these evening assemblies, lost their senses in the ecstasy produced by his singing."

SECRET COUNCIL AGAIN.

After the *isha* prayer (8 P. M.) he went to the Shah Burj, and if there was any secret business of State still to be done, he summoned the Grand *Wazir* and the *Bakhshis* and despatched it there,—leaving nothing over for the morrow.

MUSIC AND READING IN THE HAREM.

At about 8-30 P. M., he retired to the harem again. Two and sometimes three hours were here spent in listening to songs by women. Then His Majesty retired to bed and was read to sleep. Good readers sat behind a *pardah* which separated them from the royal bed chamber, and read aloud books on travel, lives of saints and prophets, and histories of former kings,—all rich in instruction. Among them the Life of Timur and the Autobiography of Babar were his special favourites.

Finally, after 10 P. M., the Emperor fell asleep and enjoyed a night's repose of six hours.

COURT OF JUSTICE ON WEDNESDAY.

Such was the life of the Mughal Court on ordinary days. But we must remember that Friday is the

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Muhammadan Sabbath, when no Court was held. Wednesday, too, was specially set apart for doing justice,—which is one of the most important duties of Oriental kings. On that day no darbar was held in the *Diwan-i-am*, but the Emperor came direct from the *darsan* window to the Private Audience Hall, at about 8 A. M., to sit on the throne of justice. True, he had appointed wise, experienced and God-fearing men to act as judges of Canon law (*qazis*), judges of common law (*adils*), and superintendent of the law-court, but the king himself was the fountain of justice and the highest court of appeal. On Wednesday none had *entree* except the law officers, jurists versed in *fatawa*, pious and upright scholars, and the few nobles who constantly attended on the Emperor's person. The officers of justice presented the plaintiffs one by one, and reported their grievances. His Majesty very gently ascertained the facts by inquiry, took the law from the *ulema* (Canon-lawyers), and pronounced judgment accordingly. Many had come from far-off provinces to get justice from the highest power in the land. Their plaints could not be investigated except locally; and so the Emperor wrote orders to the governors of those places, urging them to find out the truth, and either do justice there or send the parties back to the capital, with their reports.

Such was the settled life of Agra or Delhi, but it was often varied by rides through the city, generally in the afternoon, river trips on the Jumna in the State

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barges, hunting expeditions, and tours, for the Great Mughals were active rulers and often visited the provinces with their whole Court, performing grand progresses through the country. Thus we see that the royal throne was not exactly a bed of roses even in those days. The king had his duties, and his division of his time showed that he knew the fact. It was a strenuous life that Shah Jahan led, and he gave peace, prosperity and contentment to his people. An old Persian manuscript of the India Office Library, London, after giving Shah Jahan's routine of work, addresses him in the following couplet :—

Khalq sabuk dil ze giran bariyash,
Fitna giran khab ze bidariyash.

"O! king, thy subjects are light-hearted because thou hast taken a heavy load on thy shoulders ;
Oppression has fallen into a deep sleep (in thy kingdom) because thou hast banished sleep from thy eyes."

And the praise was right well deserved. *

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* The materials for this essay have been collected from Abdul Hamid's *Padishah-namah*, I.A. 144-154, 221, I.B. 235, and India Off. Pers. M.S. No. 1344, *f* 7 *a* & *b*.

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AURANGZIB'S DAILY LIFE.

I have already described how the Emperor Shah Jahan spent his time. I now present to the reader an account of his successor Aurangzib's daily life at Delhi at the beginning of his reign, as supplied by the contemporary Persian history *Alamgirnamah*. Aurangzib was a strict Muhammadan, a veritable Puritan in the purple. Hence his life was marked by greater seriousness, religious devotion, and aversion to amusement than his father's. He scorned delights and lived laborious days.

Aurangzib's routine of work.

A. M.

5 ...Wakes—Morning Prayer—Devotional reading.
7-30 ...Justice in Private Chamber.
8-30 ...*Darsan*—Review—Elephant fights.
9-15 ...Public Darbar.
11 ...Private Audience.
11-50 ...Harem—Siesta.

P. M.

2 ...*Zuhar* Prayer.
2-30 ...Private Chamber—Study—Business—*Asar* Prayer—State affairs.
5-30 ...Evening salute in the Private Audience Hall—Sunset Prayer.
6-40 ...*Soiree* in the *Diwan-i-khas*.
7-40 ...Court dismissed—*Isha* Prayer.
8 ...In the Harem—Religious meditation and reading—Sleep.

MORNING PRAYER.

Rising from his bed some time before dawn, the Emperor performed his morning ablutions, went from

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the *harem* to the mosque attached to the Hall of Private Audience (*Diwan-i-khas*), and sat there facing the west, waiting for the time of the morning prayer as indicated by the *Hadis* (or Muhammad's Traditions). After performing this religious rite, he read the *Quran* and the Prophet's *Traditions* till the breakfast hour, (say 7-30 A.M.).

COURT OF JUSTICE IN CHAMBER.

Then he went to his private chamber (*khilwatgah*), to which only a few confidential officers and his personal attendants were admitted, and sat on the throne dispensing justice, the first duty of an eastern king. The superintendents of the law-courts presented to him all aggrieved persons, who had come either from the capital or from the provinces to seek justice at its fountain head. Their plaints were reported, and then the Emperor personally examined them to find out the truth.

On the basis of the facts so ascertained, all cases coming under Canon Law were decided according to the *Quranic* injunctions. Common-law cases were tried according to the customary procedure and regulations of the Empire, evidently at the Emperor's own discretion. Needy and miserable plaintiffs were helped with money from the public treasury.

DARSAN.

Next, he entered the bed-chamber and showed his face at one of its windows, called 'the window of

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darsan,' which over-looked the broad sandy beach of the Jumna. A vast and varied crowd filled this plain at the foot of the fort, in expectation of the Emperor's appearance. Here the army was often reviewed, and here too were paraded the retainers of the nobles who accompanied the Emperor when he rode out in procession to perform the Friday prayer in the vast Jumma Masjid of Delhi. Elephant combats, the training of war-elephants to charge cavalry without fear, and the parade of newly captured untamed elephants, took place in this plain, as was also the case under Shah Jahan.

PUBLIC DARBAR.

After passing three quarters of an hour at the *darsan* window, the Emperor, at about 9-15 A.M., took his seat in the alcove over-looking the *Diwan-i-am*, and transacted public affairs of the same kind and in the very same way as Shah Jahan had done. This took nearly two hours.

PRIVATE AUDIENCE.

Some time before noon he withdrew to the *Diwan-i-khas*, and held a private or select audience, conducting confidential business and bestowing gifts till noon. Here were admitted a few nobles, clerks, servants, mace-bearers, the Imperial retinue, his special watchmen (*Khas-chawki*), many slaves, the standard-bearers and such other necessary persons only. At this audience his business and pleasure were identical with those of Shah Jahan, as described in the preceding essay. The

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despatches of the provincial viceroys and governors of towns were either read by the Emperor or reported in brief abstracts by the Grand *Wazir*. The Emperor's orders were taken, and their purport dictated by the Wazir to the secretaries (*munshis*), who drafted the replies. Many of these were looked over and revised by the Emperor; then they were copied out fair and placed before His Majesty for being signed and sealed. Sometimes he wrote in his own hand the beginnings of the letters to the high grandees, either to do them greater honour, or to make the orders more urgent, or to remove all doubt as to their genuineness.

HAREM.

It was now almost noon, and the Emperor retired to the *harem* to take his well-earned rest. After eating his meal, he slept for an hour to refresh his body and spirits.

PRAYER.

But shortly before the *Zuhar* prayer (about 2 P.M.) he was up again, washed himself, and waited in the palace mosque reciting God's names and telling his beads. This prayer was performed in company, as recommended by the Prophet. The congregation privileged to join the Emperor in his devotions, consisted of *ulema* (theologians), Syeds, Shaikhs, *faqirs*, and a few of His Majesty's close attendants and *khawases*.

IN THE PRIVATE CHAMBER.

Thereafter the Emperor went to his Private Chamber, situated between the *harem* and the Hall of Private

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Audience (named the *Ghusal-khanah*), and engaged in works of piety, such as, reading the *Quran*, copying it, collating his transcript of it, hunting through Arabic jurisprudence for precedents in Canon Law, &c. Or His Majesty read the books and pamphlets of the Islamic pious men and saints of all ages. Then, urgent affairs of State forced themselves on his attention. The petitions of aggrieved parties rich enough to buy the mediation of the favourite courtiers, were now submitted. On some days, work being over, His Majesty visited the *harem* again for an hour, heard the petitions of poor women, widows, and orphans, and satisfied them with money, lands, or ornaments.

By this the time for the *Asar* prayer (4 P.M.) arrived. It was performed in company in the mosque close to the Hall of Private Audience; afterwards the Emperor returned to his Private Chamber and spent the remaining short period of the day in the work of administration.

EVENING SALUTE AND PRAYER.

About half an hour before sunset, His Majesty visited the Hall of Private Audience again and sat on the throne. A little work was done. The courtiers made their bows. The nobles and officers, who had sentry duty that night, presented themselves in full accoutrement, and were marshalled by the Mir Tuzuk and the sergeants according to their ranks on the two sides of the Imperial standard of cows' tails and balls. The chief men formed a line in front; the rear ranks

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were made up by the subordinates. The Paymasters made them salute, according to the Imperial regulations.

The sun was now setting. Piercing the evening air came the loud cry,—

God is most great! God is most great! I testify that there is no deity except God and that Muhammad is His Apostle! Come to prayer! Come to prayer! Come to salvation!

It was the *muazzin* or crier of the mosque, chanting from the church-spire the call to prayer. What the *angelus* is to the French peasantry, the *azan* is to the Muslim world. All work was at once suspended. The Emperor withdrew his mind from earthly affairs, and listened with great reverence to the call. At every pause in the crier's voice, he interjected, like a pious Musalman, these responses :—

Yes, God is most great! I testify that there is no deity except God and that Muhammad is the Apostle of God! I have no power or strength except from God! What He willeth shall be, and what He willeth not shall not take place.

Then he rose from the throne, went to the mosque in full congregation and performed the evening prayer and certain non-obligatory extra rites of devotion (*viz.*, the *sunnah* and the *nafl*). These acts of piety occupied more than half an hour.

SOIREE IN THE DIWAN-I-KHAS.

The *Diwan-i-khas* (or Hall of Private Audience) was lit up with camphorated candles and torches, and golden lanterns, making it rival the vault of the sky dotted with myriads of twinkling stars. The Emperor

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arrived here from the mosque and occupied the throne. The *Wazir* reported on all affairs of the revenue department, both general and particular, and got his orders. Other kinds of State business were also done. There was no music or dance, as Aurangzib had banished these mundane vanities from his Court in the 11th year of his reign (1668 A.D.) The assembly continued for more than an hour; and shortly before 8 P.M., the call to the *Isha* prayer was heard; the Court was dismissed.

The Emperor prayed in the adjoining mosque with only his close attendants and *khawases*, and then retired to the *harem*, but not to sleep. Several hours were here spent in prayer and religious meditation, before his tired frame sank into the necessary repose.

This routine was varied on three days of the week. On Friday, the Islamic Sabbath, no Court was held. **Wednesday** was sacred to justice, and no public darbar was then held, but the Emperor went straight from the *daṛsan* to the Private Audience Hall, thronged with the law officers, *qazis*, *muftis*, scholars, theologians (*ulema*), judges, and the prefect of police for the City. None else was admitted unless his presence was needed. The Emperor went on personally judging cases till noon.

On **Thursday** he gave his Court a half-holiday, as we get on Saturday in British India. The usual routine was followed up to noon; but there was no afternoon Court, nor any assembly in the *Diwan-i-khas* at night. The whole evening was spent in prayer and sacred reading, and the world and its distractions were kept out.

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If we may believe the Court historian, Aurangzib slept only three hours out of twenty-four.* It was a very strenuous life that this Emperor led. All work and no play gave to his Court a cold, sombre and dreary aspect. He seems to have taken for his motto the following words of Louis XIV., whom he greatly resembled in his foreign policy, religious intolerance, love of centralised imperialism, and unbounded egotism and industry :—"One must work hard to reign, and it is ingratitude and presumption towards God, injustice and tyranny towards man, to wish to reign without hard work."

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* The materials for this essay have been mainly taken from the *Alamgirnamah*, 1096-1106.

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A MUSLIM HEROINE.

A WARDEN OF THE MARCHES.

A noble Persian family of Yezd took refuge in India early in the seventeenth century and rose to high distinction in the service of the Mughal Emperors. One grandson of the first immigrant was Paymaster under Shah Jahan, and another, named Khalilullah Khan, was a provincial governor and married a niece of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal. Their son Amir Khan was a noble of the first rank in the reign of Aurangzib and governed Afghanistan for 22 years with remarkable success and reputation.

He acquired his knowledge of mountaineers and hill-fighting by acting as the military commander of the Jammu hills and afterwards leading a punitive expedition against the Yusufzai Afghans of Shahbazgarhi (near Langarkot), whose villages he destroyed and whose cattle he drove away with great ability and firmness. Even when posted in Bihar as Governor, he was not rid of the Afghans; there was a colony of these turbulent men in Shahjahanpur and Kant-golah, who rebelled and were defeated and captured by Amir Khan.

After these preparatory experiences came the great opportunity of his life; in March 1677 he was appointed *subahdar* (viceroy) of Afghanistan, and filled the post with undimmed brilliancy till the day of his death, 28th April, 1698.

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His first meeting with his new subjects was not a happy one. An Afghan named Aimal Khan had set up as king of the hillmen and struck coins in his own name. The first expedition against the rebels near the Lamghanat ended in the rout of the Imperial forces. The sword having failed, the new governor took to policy. He engaged himself in winning the hearts of the Afghans with such success that the chiefs of the clans "left their shy and unsocial manners and began to visit him without any suspicion."

His statesmanship bore such good fruit that "during his government of 22 years no disaster befell him, and no administrative failure or disorder took place. Robbery and oppression were kept down by his firmness and activity. Whatever he planned succeeded; all his desires were fulfilled."

The tribal chiefs became thoroughly obedient to him; every one of them looked up to him for advice in conducting his own affairs. Under his astute guidance they ceased to trouble the Imperial Government and spent their energies in internecine quarrels! His cleverness made him triumph over every difficulty.

Once there was a great gathering of the Afghans under Aimal. There was hardly any tribe that did not join him. Every male fighter in the hills took provisions for a few days and attended the muster. The *subahdar's* army was too small to encounter a nation in arms. Amir Khan was alarmed, took counsel with a very clever subordinate, Abdullah Khan Kheshgi, and

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made him write feigned letters to the head of every tribe in the rebel camp, saying, "We had long been waiting for such a happy event as that the government of the country would pass to the Afghans. Thank God, our long deferred hope is at last being fulfilled. But we do not know the character of your new king. If he is worthy to rule, write, and we shall join you, as service under the Mughals is not to our liking."

The Afghan chieftains highly praised Aimal Khan in their replies. Then Abdullah Khan wrote again, "All this praise is good no doubt; but is your leader so eminently just as to treat his kinsmen and strangers with impartial equality? Try him by asking him to parcel out among the clans the land already conquered. Then you will find out whether he has any greed or reluctance to be impartial to all."

At this the tribesmen made the proposal to him. Aimal declined, saying, "How can a small territory be divided among so many men?"

All was now dissension in the Afghan camp. Many of the hillmen immediately returned home in anger. Aimal Khan had at last to make a division of land; but as he naturally showed greater consideration to his own clan and kinsmen, the quarrel broke out afresh. All the other chiefs left him in disgust, and wrote to dissuade Abdullah Khan from joining such a bad king! Surely the policy of *divide et impera* has never triumphed so well in Afghanistan.

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A WOMAN WHO RULED THE AFGHANS.

Amir Khan's wife, SAHIBJI (=Her Ladyship), was a daughter of Ali Mardan Khan, a highly gifted Persian, who rose to be the Premier Noble of the Court of Shah Jahan. She was a wonderfully clever and expert woman. In conducting the administration she was her husband's partner. His success in many a difficulty was due to her wise suggestions and business capacity. *She* was the real Governor of Kabul.

One night the Emperor Aurangzib learnt from the report of Kabul the news of Amir Khan's death. Immediately summoning Arshad Khan (who had formerly acted as *Diwan* of Afghanistan), he said in concern, "A great difficulty has cropped up. Amir Khan is dead. That province, which is ever ripe for a thousand disturbances and troubles, has now none to govern it. A disaster may happen before the arrival of his successor."

Arshad Khan boldly replied, "Amir Khan lives. Who calls him dead?"

The Emperor handed him the report from Kabul. The Khan read it and added, "Yes; but then it is Sahibji who governed and controlled the province. So long as *she* lives your Majesty need not fear any disorder."

The Emperor at once wrote to the lady to guard the province till the arrival of her husband's successor in office, which, however, happened two years afterwards.

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During this interval she was the sole Governor of Afghanistan, as she had been in all but the name in her husband's lifetime.

Death overtook Amir Khan when he was out among the valleys. If the fact had got wind, the Afghans would have taken heart and massacred his leaderless escort in their narrow defiles. Sahibji with great presence of mind suppressed her grief, concealed his death, dressed a man like Amir Khan, made him sit in a *palki* with glass doors, and thus marched long distances. Every day she inspected the troops and received their salute. It was only after issuing safely from the hills that she went into mourning.

After her husband's death, all the Afghan chieftains sent their relatives to condole with her. She treated them with great respect and sent word to the headmen, "Take your customary dues. Do not rebel or rob, but remain obedient as before. Otherwise I defy you to a fight.* If I defeat you, my name will remain famous to the end of time."

The headmen out of regard for fair play gave her new promises and assurances of their loyalty and did not break out in lawlessness.

Her courage and presence of mind had been as conspicuous in her youth. Years ago at Delhi she was passing by a lane in a *chaudol* (sedan chair). The Emperor's own elephant—the chief of its species—appeared in an infuriated (*mast*) condition before her.

* Lit., "Here is the ball and here the polo field," *i.e.*, a challenge to a contest.

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Her attendants wanted to turn it back. But the *mahouts* as a class are vicious, and this one was further proud of being the Emperor's own driver. So he urged the elephant rashly onward. Her escort pulled out their arrows from the quivers; but the brute flung its trunk on the *chaudol* to seize and trample it down. The porters dropped it and fled. Quick as thought Sahibji jumped out, ran into a money-changer's shop hard by, and shut the door. This was no common feat of agility, as a Muslim noblewoman travelling on the public road must have been securely wrapped up like a parcel sent by post in the rainy season.

She had saved her life, but alas! she had broken *pardah*,—an unpardonable offence against Indian etiquette. Amir Khan was angry at her audacity, and for a few days lived in separation from her. Then the Emperor Shah Jahan told him frankly, "She has played a man's part; she has saved her own and your honour at the same time. If the elephant had seized her and exposed her (bare body) to the public, what privacy would have been left?"

So she was taken back by her husband. Amir Khan might have cried to his heroic wife,

> "Bring forth men-children only!
> For thy undaunted mettle should compose
> Nothing but males."

But unfortunately she was childless like Lady Macbeth. Her husband, in fear of her, durst not take

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another wife, but kept a secret harem and had children by them. At last Sahibji discovered it, but adopted and lovingly brought up her step-sons.

On being relieved of the government of Kabul, she made a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, where she spent large sums in charity and was highly honoured by the Sheriff and other people.†

† The materials of this sketch have been taken from the Persian *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 277—286.

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THE FERINGI PIRATES OF CHATGAON, 1665 A.D.

[*From the contemporary Persian account of Shihab-uddin Talish, in the Bodleian Ms. 589.*]

ARRAKAN DESCRIBED.

The fort of Chātgāon is an appurtenance of the kingdom of Arracan, which is a large country and great port of the east. One side of it is enclosed by high hills which join the mountains of Kashmir, China, Cathay, and Mahachin. Another side is bordered by the ocean. Deep rivers and wide oceans enclose the western side, which adjoins Bengal. The land and water routes alike for entering the country are very difficult. Its conquest is an extremely hard task. The people of the country are called Maghs,—which is an abbreviation of *Muhamil-i-sag* (=despicable dog), according to [the proverb] "The name descends from heaven." They do not admit into their country any other tribe than the Christians, who visit it by the sea-route for purposes of trade. Good elephants abound; horses are totally wanting. This writer has heard from the Khān Khānān [Mir Jumla] that the elephants of Arracan surpass all other elephants in beauty of appearance and character. Some mines of metals are said to exist in the country. The inhabitants have no definite faith or religion, but incline [a little] to the Hindu creed. Their learned men are called *Rawlis*; they do not transgress

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the guidance of the latter in their earthly affairs. The *Rawlis* have the ways of the *Sewrahs* [=Shwetambar Jains]. The Rajahs of this country hold pre-eminence over other lower rulers, by reason of their large forces, spacious country, and great splendour. The Governors of the ports and islands of the east always show respect and meekness to them. These Rajahs are so proud and foolish that as long as the sun does not decline from the zenith they do not put their heads out of the doors of their palace; they say, "The sun is our younger brother. How can we hold Court while he is over our heads and we below him?" In their decrees and letters they give themselves the titles of "Elder brother of the Sun, Lord of the Golden House and White Elephant." Of their offspring that base-born son is considered the proper heir to the throne whom they have begotten on the person of their own sister. After the conquest of Chātgāon [by Shaista Khan] it was found from the records of the place that the year was written as 1127.* On being asked to account for the date, the people said that the beginning of the era was the beginning of their royal dynasty, and that the aforesaid years had passed since the establishment of the rule of these Rajahs. This fact makes it clear that in this long period [of 1127 years] no foreigner had succeeded in conquering the country, and no outsider had got into it. Their cannon are beyond numbering, their flotilla (*nawwara*)

* This should be 1027. In the Burmese vulgar era, used also in Arracan, 1027 corresponds to 1665 A.D. (*Bengal and Agra Gazetteer*).

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exceeds the waves of the sea [in number]. Most of their ships are *ghurabs* and *jalbas*; *khalus* and *dhums* are larger than *ghurabs*; these are so strongly made of timber with a hard core (*az chob-i-qalbdar*) that the balls of *zamburaks* and small cannon cannot pierce them. [Latterly] the Rajah appointed the Feringi pirates to plunder Bengal, and hence he did not send the Arracan fleet for the purpose.

OLD CHATGAON DESCRIBED.

Chatgaon is a tract adjacent to Bengal and Arracan alike. From Jagdia, where there was a [Mughal] outpost, to Chatgaon lay a wilderness. On the skirt of the hill was a dense jungle, without any vestige of habitation or living being. The river Feni, rising in the hills of Tipperah, passes by Jagdia* and falls into the ocean. Ninety-nine *nullahs*, which contain water even in seasons other than the monsoons, intervene between Feni and Chatgaon. After the capture of Chatgaon, bridges (*pul*) were built by Shaista Khan's order over all these *nullahs*. From Dacca to Chatgaon six creeks (*bahar*) have to be crossed in boats; one of them is the river of Sripur, which is so broad that a boat can perform only one trip across it and back in the whole day.

On the bank of the Karnafuli river are some hills, high and low, situated close to each other. The lower hills have been heaped over with earth and raised to the level of the higher ones; all these hills have been scarped

* In Rennell's *Atlas*, Sheet 1, Jagdia is on the Little Feni River.

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cylindrically, fortified, and named the fort [of Chatgaon]. In strength it rivals the rampart of Alexander, and its towers (*burj*) are as high as the *falak-ul-baruj*. Fancy cannot sound the depth of its moat, imagination cannot reach its niched parapet.

In the fort has been dug a deep ditch, about eight yards in breadth; on the eastern side, close to the edge of the ditch, flows the river Karnafuli, which descends from the Tipperah hills to the sea. On the north side is a large wide and deep tank close to the ditch. Behind the tank, along the entire north side and a part of the western side, are hills. The hills are so high and the jungle so dense, that it is impossible to traverse them even in imagination. Within the fort two springs flow, the water of which runs into the Karnafuli river in the monsoons, when the channel of the springs becomes so broad that a *jalba* boat can easily pass through it. As the people of the fort use all the water [that issues] in seasons other than the rainy, they dam the springs and block the outlet to the Karnafuli river. On a height within the fort is a tomb, known as the *āstanā* of Pir Badar; the attendants of the shrine perform prayer and fast. The Magh infidels .... have settled some villages in *waqf* on this tomb; they make pilgrimage to the holy dead and offer presents. It is said that if one could perform the impossible feat of dragging a large gun to the top of the hill at the western angle [of the fort]—which adjoins Tipperah—its balls would fall within the fort. On the other side of the Karnafuli there is

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a lofty and strong fort, opposite the fort of Chatgaon; it is full of defence-materials.

Every year the Rajah of Arracan sends to Chatgaon a hundred ships full of soldiers and artillery munitions, with a new *Karamkari* (commandant, superintendent), when the former *Karamkari*, with the ships of last year, returns to Arracan. There is always some trustworthy relative or faithful clansman of the Rajah in charge of the government of Chatgaon. He issues gold coins stamped with his own name at this place and its dependencies.

In bygone times, one of the Sultans of Bengal named Fakhruddin fully conquered Chatgaon, and built an embankment (*al*) from Chandpur, opposite the outpost of Sripur across the river, to Chatgaon. The mosques and tombs which are situated in Chatgaon were built in Fakhruddin's time. The [existing] ruins prove it.

CHATGAON IN MAGH HANDS.

When Bengal was annexed to the Mughal empire, and included in the records of the *qanungo* department, Chatgaon was entered in the papers of Bengal as one of the defaulting unsettled [districts]. When the *mutasaddis* of Bengal did not really wish to pay any man whose salary was due, they gave him an assignment on the revenue of Chatgaon! Towards the end of the rule of the Bengal kings and the early years of the conquest of Bengal by the Mughals, when great confusion prevailed in the country, Chatgaon again fell into the hands

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of the Maghs, who did not leave a bird in the air or a beast on the land [from Chatgaon] to Jagdia, the frontier of Bengal, increased the desolation, thickened the jungles, destroyed the *al*, and closed the road so well that even the snake and the wind could not pass through. They built a strong fort, and left a large fleet to guard it. Gaining composure of mind from the strength of the place, they turned to Bengal, and began to plunder it. None of the Viceroys of Bengal [before Shaista Khan] undertook to put down this trouble and punish them. Only Ibrahim Khan Fatih Jang, in the Emperor Jahangir's reign, resolved to conquer Chatgaon and destroy the wicked Maghs. [This expedition failed.]

DOINGS OF THE PIRATES OF CHATGAON.

From the reign of the Emperor Akbar, when Bengal was annexed to the Mughal empire, to the time of the conquest of Chatgaon during the viceroyalty of Shaista Khan, Arracan pirates, both Magh and Feringi, used constantly to [come] by the water-route and plunder Bengal. They carried off the Hindus and Muslims, male and female, great and small, few and many, that they could seize, pierced the palms of their hands, passed thin canes through the holes, and threw them one above another under the deck of their ships. In the same manner as grain is flung to fowl, every morn and evening they threw down from above uncooked rice to the captives as food. On their return to their homes, they employed the few hard-lived captives that

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survived [this treatment] in tillage and other hard tasks, according to their power, with great disgrace and insult. Others were sold to the Dutch, English, and French merchants at the ports of the Deccan.

Sometimes they brought the captives for sale at a high price to Tamluk, and the port of Baleshwar, which is a part of the Imperial dominions and a dependency of the province of Orissa. The manner of the sale was this :—The wretches used to bring the prisoners in their ships, anchor at a short distance from the shore off Tamluk or Baleshwar, and send a man ashore with the news. The local officers, fearing lest the pirates should commit any depredation or kidnapping there, stood on the shore with a number of followers, and sent a man with a sum of money to the pirates. If the terms were satisfactory, the pirates took the money and sent the prisoners with the man. Only the Feringi pirates sold their prisoners. But the Maghs employed all their captives in agriculture and other kinds of service. Many high-born persons and Sayyads, many pure and Sayyad-born women, were compelled to undergo the disgrace of the slavery, service or concubinage (*farash wa suhabat*) of these wicked men. Muslims underwent such oppression in this region of war (*dar-ul-harb*) as they had not to suffer in Europe. It was less in some Governors' time and more in others'.

As they for a long time continually practised piracy, their country prospered, and their number increased, while Bengal daily became more and more

desolate, less and less able to resist and fight them. Not a householder was left on both sides of the rivers on their track from Dacca to Chatgaon. The district of Bagla,* a part of Bengal, lying in their usual path, was [formerly] full of cultivation and houses, and yielded every year a large amount to the Imperial Government as duty on its betel-nuts. They swept it with the broom of plunder and abduction, leaving none to inhabit a house or kindle a fire in all the tract. Matters came to such a pass that the Governor of Dacca confined his energies to the defence of that city only, and the prevention of the coming of the pirate fleet to Dacca, and stretched some iron chains acoss the *nullah* of Dacca and set up some bridges of bamboo (*nai*, reed) on the stream (*nahar*) of the city.

DEMORALISED BENGAL NAVY.

The sailors of the Bengal flotilla were in such a fright, that I may say without exaggeration that whenever 100 war-ships of Bengal sighted four ships of the enemy, if the distance separating them was great the Bengal crew showed fight by flight, considered it a great victory that they had carried off their lives in safety, and became famous in Bengal for their valour and heroism! If the interval was small and the enemy overpowered them, the men of the Bengal ships—rowers, sepoys, and armed men alike—threw themselves without delay into the water, preferring drowning to captivity.

* *Bagla* included Backerganj and part of Dacca (*J.A.S.B.* Pt. 1., 1873, p. 209).

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Once Ashur Beg, an officer of Prince Shuj'ā was cruising with about 200 boats, when a few of the enemy's fleet, in number not even one-tenth of the Imperial flotilla, came in sight. Ashur Beg was mortally frightened; in great agitation he cried to the *mānjhi* or captain of his ship, "*Ai bāi āsh bedeh*!"* The *mānjhi* in perplexity asked, "*Mir-jiu*! whence can I get broth at such a time? Just now these pirates will cook a nice broth for you!" Ashur Beg in agitation and bewilderment kept up crying, "You confounded fellow, give *āsh*," and the *mānjhi* went on replying, "I have not got it with me. Whence can I bring it?" [The fact is] sailors use the term *wars* to mean, 'backing the boat'; Ashur Beg in his terror had forgotten the word and used *āsh* instead! In no other part of the Mughal empire has any neighbouring infidel [king] the power to oppress and domineer over Muslims; but rather do [infidel kings] show all kinds of submission and humility in order to save their homes and lands, and the [Mughal] officers of those places engage in making new acquisitions by conquest. In Bengal alone the opposite is the case; here the mere preservation of the Imperial dominion is considered a great boon. Those Governors in whose times these piracies were less frequent, congratulated themselves and exulted at it. None of them tried to stop the path of oppression and domination of this wicked tribe through their fear of the necessary

* "Ho, brother, give [me] broth." *Bai* is the Dacca pronunciation of *Bhai*.

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expenditure and exertion, weakness of faith and trust, and the [false] notion of their lack of power.

ROUTES OF THE PIRATES.

In Jahangir's reign, the Magh pirates used to come to Dacca for plunder and abduction, by the *nullah* which leaves the Brahmaputra, passes by Khizirpur, and joins the *nullah* of Dacca. Khizirpur is situated on the bank of the Brahmaputra, on a narrow embankment (*āl*). In the monsoons all the land except the sites of the houses is covered with water. The Governors of Dacca, therefore, at the end of the monsoons and during the winter, which was the season of the coming of the pirates, used to go to Khizirpur with an army and encamp there. After some years, the *nullah* dried up, and many places in the track of the pirates in the Brahmaputra river also became fordable. Thus their [water] route to Dacca was closed on this side, and restricted to the side of Jatrapur* and Bikrampur. Recently as the pirates could more easily carry out their chief design of kidnapping men in the villages of Dacca and other *parganahs*, they did not exert themselves to reach Dacca town.

When the pirates came from Chatgaon to molest Bengal, they passed by Bhalua, a part of the Imperial dominions, on the right, and the island of Sondip, belonging to the zamindar Dilawwar, on the left, and reached the village of Sangram-garh. [From this point] if they

* In Rennell, Sheet 1, Jattrapnr is given 30 miles west of Dacca.

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wished to plunder Jessore, Hughli, and Bhushna, they moved up the Ganges; if they wanted to raid Bikrampur, Sunargaon, and Dacca, they proceeded up the Brahmaputra. Sangramgarh* is the land at the extremity of the island (*i.e.*, delta) which contains Dacca and other towns and villages. In front of it the Ganges and the Brahmaputra unite. The mingled stream, after passing by Bhalua and Sondip, falls into the sea. In ancient times, a man named Sangram had built a fort here to repel the Magh raids into Bengal. In Hindi a fort is called a *garh*. By the combination of these two words the name of the place has been formed. If a fort were built here and stored with weapons, munitions, and materials of defence, and a large force and well-equipped flotilla kept here, the oppression of the pirates and the raids of the Maghs into Bengal could most probably be prevented.

FERINGI PIRATES

Many Feringis lived happily at Chatgaon† and used to come to the Imperial dominion for plunder and abduction. Half their booty they gave to the Rajah of Arracan, and the other half they kept. This tribe was called *Harmad*.‡ They had 100 swift *jalba* boats

* No trace of Sangramgar is found in Rennell. The *Alamgirnamah*, p. 943, says that its name was changed to Alamgirnagar, and that it was 21 *kos* from Sripur (p. 944) It must have been near Rennell's *Mendigunge*. Khafi Khan calls it Sangramnagar, ii. 188.

† Their settlement was called *Feringi-bandar* or *Bandar*, on the south bank of the Karnafuli, very close to its mouth.

‡ This word is evidently *armad*, a corruption of *armada*. *Armad* is used in the sense of fleet in the *Kalimat-i-tayyibat*.

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full of war-materials. The Governors of Bengal were disturbed by their robbery and were too weak to prevent it. As the Harmads [=Feringi pirates] were not in need of the help of the Arracan fleet, the king of Arracan did not send his ships to practise piracy in Mughal territory (Bengal). He considered the Feringi pirates in the light of his servants, and took the booty they brought [as his share].

[In December 1665, the Feringis of Chatgaon, partly in fear of Arracanese treachery and partly won over by Shaista Khan's tempting overtures] came with all their families in 42 *jalbas* and took refuge with Farhad Khan, the Mughal *thanahdar* of Noakhali. The Khan sent their chief, Captain Moor, with a few of their great men to Shaista Khan at Dacca, while he kept all the others with their ships at Noakhali, showing them great attention and kindness. The Captain and other leaders of the Feringis had audience of the Nawwab at night, and received splendid robes of honour and other unexpected favours. The Nawwab asked them, "What did the zamindar of the Maghs fix as your salary?" The Feringis replied, "Our salary was the Imperial dominion! We considered the whole of Bengal as our *jagir*. All the twelve months of the year we made our collection [*i.e.*, booty] without trouble. We had not to bother ourselves about *amlas* and *amins*; nor had we to render accounts and balances to anybody. Passage over water was our [land-] survey. We never slackened the enhancement of *our* rent, *viz.*, booty. For years we have left no

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arrears of [this] revenue. We have with us papers of the division of the booty village by village for the last 40 years." One can infer from this answer the condition of things and the weakness of the Governors of Bengal. The coming over of the Feringis gave composure to the hearts of the people of Bengal. Two thousand rupees were presented from the Nawwab's own purse as reward to Captain Moor and the other Feringis who had come from Chatgaon, and from the Imperial Treasury a monthly stipend of Rs. 500 was settled on the Captain, and other comfortable salaries on others of the tribe.

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THE CONQUEST OF CHATGAON, 1666 A.D.

(From Shihabuddin Talish's account as preserved in the Bodleian Ms. 589, supplemented by the Alamgir-namah.)

DECAY OF THE BENGAL FLOTILLA.

DURING the viceroyalty of Prince Shuja, when great confusion was caused by his negligence, the extortion and violence of the clerks (*mutasaddis*) ruined the *parganahs* assigned for maintaining the *nawwara* (= flotilla). Many [naval] officers and workmen holding *jagir* or stipend were overpowered by poverty and starvation. Day by day their distress and ruin increased. When Mir Jumla came to Bengal as Viceroy, he wished to make a new arrangement of the expenditure and *tankhah* of the flotilla, which amounted to 14 lakhs of rupees. After abolishing the old system, and just before beginning the re-organisation, he was overcome by the spells of Assam [*i.e.*, died of the Assam queen's witchcraft]. Many naval officers and men too perished in the expedition; so that at Mir Jumla's death the flotilla was utterly ruined.

[Early in 1664] the pirates came to Bagadia, a dependency of Dacca, and defeated Munawwar Khan, zamindar, who was stationed there with the relics of the *nawwara*—a few broken and rotten boats—and who bore the high title of cruising admiral (*sardar-i-sairab*). Munawwar fled in confusion. Ismail Khan Tarin and

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other Nawwabi officers, whom [Shaista Khan's son and Deputy Governor at Dacca] Aqidat Khan had sent with a small force to Munawwar, prevented the crew of their own boats from retreating by turning them round. The crew, on seeing their passengers averse to flight, jumped into the sea and swam ashore to safety. Ismail Khan and his comrades boldly made a firm stand and repelled with their bows and guns the enemy who had advanced to seize them. A musket-shot grazed the leg of Ismail Khan. The current drove their sailorless boats to the bank, and they escaped destruction. The few boats that still belonged to the *nawwara* were thus lost, and its name alone remained in Bengal.

SHAISTA KHAN'S RESOLVE TO SUPPRESS PIRACY.

On 8th March, 1664, the new Viceroy, Shaista Khan, entered Rajmahal [the western capital of Bengal]. When he learnt that the cause of the ravages of the pirates was the power and equipment of their fleet and the dilapidation of the Bengal fleet, he gave urgent orders to Muhammad Beg [Abakash, the *darogha* of the *nawwara*] to restore the flotilla, wrote to Aqidat Khan also [on the subject], accepted the suggestions of Muhammad Beg, appointed at his request Qazi Samu as *musharraf* of the *nawwara*, and sent them back to Dacca with robes of honour and presents. As timber and shipwrights were required for repairing and fitting out the ships, to every *mauza* of the province that had timber and carpenters, bailiffs (*muhasal*) were sent with

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warrants (*parwanah*) to take them to Dacca. It was ordered that at the ports of Hughli, Baleshwar, Murang, Chilmari, Jessore, and Karibari, as many boats should be built as possible and sent [to Dacca]. The Nawwab spoke to the Captain of the Dutch, who was present at the audience, "You make vast amounts every year by your trade in the Imperial dominions, for which you have to pay no duty or tithe. For this reason, the path of the profit of Muslim and Hindu *beparis* and merchants in the Imperial dominions, especially in Bengal, has been closed. In gratitude for such favour and bounty you should call for ships from your country, and co-operate with the Imperial forces in the expedition against Arracan for extirpating the Maghs, which I have in view. Abolish the factories (*kothi*) that you have in Arracan. Otherwise, know for certain that trade and traffic with you will be forbidden all over the empire, and your gains stopped." The Captain replied, "I cannot agree to this great and serious proposal without first writing to our head, the General [Governor-General of the Dutch Indies], and getting his consent." The Nawwab, accepting the Captain's entreaty, said, "Write and call for a reply," and entrusted to the Captain a *parwanah* on the above subject, one suit of *khilat* and one jewelled saddle-cover, for the General. Through God's grace, their help was at last found unnecessary.

As the Feringis engaged in piracy, kidnapping and plundering the inhabitants of Bengal, and lived at Chatgaon under the protection of the zamindar of

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Arracan, giving half their booty from Bengal to him, the Nawwab sent Shaikh Ziauddin Yusuf, one of his own officers, as *darogha* of the port of Ladhikol,* which is near Dacca and where Feringi merchants, engaged in the salt trade, live; he ordered the Shaikh to manage that these Feringis should write to their brethren, the pirates of Chatgaon, offering assurances and hopes of Imperial favours and rewards, and thus make them come and enter the Mughal service. Ziauddin, too, was to send conciliatory letters [of his own] to them.

SHAISTA KHAN CREATES A NEW FLOTILLA.

On 13th December, 1664, Shaista Khan first entered Dacca. He devoted all his energy to the rebuilding of the flotilla: not for a moment did he forget to mature plans for assembling the crew, providing their rations and needments, and collecting the materials for ship-building and shipwrights. Hakim Muhammad Husain, mansabdar, an old, able, learned, trustworthy and virtuous servant of the Nawwab, was appointed head of the ship-building department. The *musharrafi* of the flotilla was given, *vice* Qazi Samu, to Muhammad Muqim, an expert, clever, and hardworking officer serving in Bengal, whom Mir Jumla had left at Dacca in supervision of the *nawwara* at the time of the Assam expedition. Kishor Das, an Imperial officer, a well-informed and experienced clerk, was appointed to have charge of the *parganahs* of the *nawwara*, and the

* In Rennell, Sheet 1, *Luricool*, 13 miles west of Chandpour.

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stipend of the jagirs assigned to the [naval] officers and men. To all posts of this department expert officers were appointed. Through the ceaseless exertions of the Nawwab, in a short time nearly 300 ships were built and equipped with [the necessary] materials. Those who had seen the [sorry] plight of the *nawwara* after the death of Mir Jumla, can understand the great change effected by Shaista Khan in a short time.

SECURING BASES FOR THE WAR.

Sangramgarh is situated at the point of land where the Ganges and the Brahmaputra unite. The Nawwab ordered Muhammad Sharif, the late *faujdar* of Hughli, to go to Sangramgarh as *thanahdar*, with many men, officers, and guns, and build a fort there. Abul Hassan was posted there with 200 ships to patrol and check the pirates. Muhammad Beg Abakash, with a hundred ships, was stationed at Dhapa, with orders to go and reinforce Abul Hassan whenever he heard of the coming of the pirates.

A wide high road (*al*) was built from Dhapa* to Sangramgarh, so that even in the monsoons horse and foot could proceed on land from Sangramgarh to Dacca, a distance of 18 *kos*.

[Sondip was a halfway house between Sangramgarh and Chatgaon, and formed an excellent base. Hence the Nawwab decided to wrest it from its zamindar Dilawwar before sending the expedition to Chatgaon.

* The site of Dhapa is given in Rennell (sheet 12) as *Dhape ki Kila*.

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On 12th November, 1665, Sondip was conquered and a Mughal *thanah* established there.]

THE FERINGIS DESERT TO THE MUGHAL SIDE.

Ever since his coming to Bengal the Nawwab had been planning how to put down the root of disturbance, the Feringi pirates, either by winning them over or by slaying them. As already narrated, Shaikh Ziauddin Yusuf told the Feringis of Ladhikol what the Nawwab had said, and they wrote to their piratical brethren of Chatgaon reassuring them and asking them to visit the Nawwab. When the Nawwab was making his progress [from Rajmahal] to Dacca, the [Portuguese?] Captain of the port of Hughli interviewed him on the way. The Nawwab, after gracing him with favours, asked him to write to the Feringi pirates of Chatgaon tempting them to come over to the Nawwab's service. When he reached Dacca, the Captain of Tamluk also was ordered to write letters of invitation to them. When these successive letters arrived at Chatgaon, and the news of the conquest of Sondip and the establishment of a Mughal *thanah* there spread abroad, spies reported these matters to the king of Arracan. The news threw him into terror, and he wrote to his uncle's son, the Governor of Chatgaon, to look carefully to the defence of the country and fort, conciliate the Feringi pirates, and send to Arracan their families and children, and informed him that a large fleet equipped for battle was being shortly sent to Chatgaon for reinforcement. As he had

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from the above causes come to entertain suspicion [of the fidelity] of the Feringis, he really wished to lure their families to Arracan and massacre the Feringis themselves at Chatgaon at an opportune time. The hearts of the Feringis were distracted and shaken by the arrival of the tempting letters and the news of the Mughal establishment at Sondip. On learning of the wishes of the Magh chief, they fled with their families in 42 *jalbás* to Farhad Khan at Noakhali for protection.* [They were taken into Imperial service and liberally rewarded by the Nawwab.]

INVASION IMMEDIATELY DECIDED ON.

Captain Moor, the Feringi leader, reported to the Nawwab, "Owing to their pride and folly, the king and counsellors of Arracan have neglected the defence and munitions of the fort, and mostly depended on us [for this purpose]. But now that they have heard of the conquest of Sondip, they have ordered a large army and fleet to reinforce [the defence of Chatgaon]. If the Mughal force attacks the fort before the arrival of this reinforcement, its capture will probably be very easy." The Nawwab, who had been day and night thinking how to realise this object, regarded the coming over of the Feringis as the commencement of the victory, and decided not to let this opportunity slip away.

* The *Alamgirnama'h*, p. 947, says: "The Feringis, learning [of the intended Arracanese treachery,] resisted and fought the Arracanese, burnt some of the ships of the latter, and started for service in Bengal with all their goods and ships. On 19th December, 1665, fifty *jalbás* of the Feringis, full of guns, muskets, and munitions, and all the Feringi families, reached Noakhali."

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From Jagdia, the frontier of Mughal Bengal, to Chatgaon, a distance of 30 *kos*, is an utterly desolate wilderness. The expeditionary force would have to be supplied with provisions [from Bengal] till after Chatgaon was reached, besieged, and captured. As the Bengal crew were mortally afraid of the Magh flotilla, provisions could not be sent by water, though the means of transport in this province are confined to boats. Hence, when in Jahangir's reign, Ibrahim Khan Fatih Jang decided to attack Chatgaon, for two years before setting out he collected provisions at Bhalua and Jagdia.

COMPOSITION OF THE EXPEDITION.

It was decided that the Nawwab's son, Buzurg Ummed Khan, with 4,000 troopers should conduct the campaign, while the Nawwab would look after the work of keeping the army supplied with provisions. If the siege were protracted he would quickly go and join his son. On 24th December,* 1665, at a moment auspicious for making a beginning, Buzurg Ummed Khan started from Dacca. Under him were appointed Ikhtisas Khan, a commander of 2,500 (1,000 extra troopers) Sarandaz Khan, a commander of 1,500 (800 troopers), Farhad Khan, a commander of 1,000 (150 troopers), Qarawwal Khan, a commander of 1,000 (800 troopers), Rajah Subal Singh Sisodia, a commander of 1,500

* The *Alamgirnamah*, p. 948, gives 25th December as the date, and says that the expeditionary force was composed of "Buzurg Ummed Khan with *two* thousand troopers of the Nawwab's own *tabinan* (followers), Syed Ikhtisas Khan Barha, Subal Singh Sisodia, Miana Khan, Karn Khaji and some others."

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(700 troopers), Ibn Husain, *darogha* of the *nawwara*, a commander of 800 (200 troopers), Mir Murtaza, *darogha* of the artillery, a commander of 800 (150 troopers), other Imperial officers with their followings, all the *naqdis* and *ahadis* except a few who were engaged in special works, and 2,500 troopers in the Nawwab's pay. All the *amirs*, *mansabdars*, *sardars*, and *jamadars* were presented with robes of honour, horses, swords, and shields, according to their ranks. Mir Abul Fath was appointed *diwan* and Muhammad Khalil paymaster and newswriter of the force. From Dacca Mir Murtaza, and from Sondip Ibn Husain, Muhammad Beg Abakash, Munawwar Khan zamindar and other zamindars of the *nawwara*, and Haiat Khan *jamadar* with the Nawwab's soldiers, who had accompanied him to the conquest of Sondip, were ordered to go to Noakhali, join Farhad Khan and Captain Moor and other Feringi pirates who had come from Chatgaon and entered the Imperial service, and then proceed on land and sea as the van of Buzurg Ummed Khan's army.

Askar Khan, who had been posted to Ghoraghat, returned opportunely and was stationed at Dacca.*

* The *Alamgirnamah*, p. 948, adds: "Kamal, a former Arracanese king's son, who in Shah Jahan's reign had fled to Dacca from the oppression of the present king, was ordered to accompany Mir Murtaza with a band of the Maghs who lived at Dacca, on the assurance that he would be made chief of his tribe. A letter (*parwanah*), inviting submission to the Mughals and offering conciliatory favours from the Imperial Government, was written to the Governor of Chatgaon and sent to him with one of the Maghs."

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The Imperial fleet under Ibn Husain consisted of 288 ships, as described below :—

Ghurab	...	21	*Jalba*	...	96
Salb	...	3	*Bachari*	...	2
Kusa	...	157	*Parenda*	...	6
			[Not specified]		3
					288

NAWWAB'S VIGOROUS EXERTIONS.

Before this Mir Murtaza had collected many axes at Dacca. From the *parganahs*, too, axes had been brought by issuing *parwanahs*, so that several thousands of them had been collected. These were sent with the expedition for clearing the jungle. Every day the Nawwab wrote to the officers of the expedition letters full of plans and advice, and inquiries addressed to the Khan about the condition of the enemy and the state of the road. On the first day [when the expedition left Dacca] the Nawwab stayed outside [the harem] till noon, and again from the time of the *asar* prayer to one *prahar* of the night, and supervised this business. Even when he was in the harem, if any good plan struck him, he at once sent word to the officers to carry it out. Muhammad Khalil was ordered to keep him daily informed of the occurrences. Shaikh Mubarak, an experienced and trusted servant, appointed to command the Nawwab's retainers accompanying Buzurg Ummed Khan, was ordered to report all the daily

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events, great and small, to the Nawwab, and give the Khan every advice that he considered fit.

FEEDING THE ARMY.

The officers of the *golahs* (granaries) were ordered that one-half of all the grain that *beparis* brought into Dacca should be sent to the army. To the *faujdars* of all parts of Bengal urgent *parwanahs* were issued directing that every kind of provision that they could secure should be despatched to the expeditionary force. *Yasawwals* were appointed by the Nawwab to see to it. So excellent were the Nawwab's arrangements that from the beginning till now the price of grain in the army has been to the price in Dacca as ten to nine.

MUGHAL ADVANCE BY LAND AND SEA.

Buzurg Ummed Khan moved quickly on, carried his entire army over the deep river in a few days, crossed the river of Feni,* entered the Magh territory, and advanced cutting the jungle and making a road.

* The *Alamgirnamah*, p. 949, describes the movements of the expedition thus: 'Farhad Khan, appointed a force of pioneers, wood-cutters, and some infantry armed with bows and muskets for making a road and clearing the jungle. On 12th January, 1666, marching from Noakhali with Mir Murtaza and other comrades, he reached the outpost of Jagdia. Ibn Husain and his comrades on board weighed anchor. On the 14th, Farhad Khan and his party crossed the Feni river and advanced cautiously. On the 20th, he reached a tank, from which Chatgaon was one day's journey, and waited for Buzurg Ummed Khan's arrival. That general, after crossing the Feni on the 17th....., arrived on the 21st at a place 8 *kos* behind the position of Farhad Khan and Mir Murtaza, which [latter] was ten *kos* from Chatgaon fort, and where the jungle was very thick and the road very bad,—and halted there. Farhad Khan daily advanced a little, cutting the jungle and levelling the road. The flotilla waited for the army at Dumria, a dependency of Chatgaon, which was about 20 *kos* from the halting-place of Buzurg Ummed Khan.

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According to the Nawwab's command a *thanah* was established on the river of Feni, under Sultan Beg, *mansabdar*, with a contingent of horse and foot. As the river of Feni joins the sea, it was feared that the enemy's ships would pass up the river and harass the Imperial army's passage. It was, therefore, decided that out of the commanders at Noakhali, Ibn Husain should advance with the *nawwara* by the sea and Farhad Khan, Mir Murtaza, and Haiat Khan by land, in aid of the *nawwara*. If they could, they should enter the Karnafuli river and occupy its mouth, and also attack Chatgaon. Otherwise they should stay in the neighbourhood and wait for Buzurg Ummed Khan's arrival. The jungle was thereafter to be cut along the sea stage by stage, the flotilla to advance by sea and the Khan by its coast; in march and halt the land and sea forces were never to be separated.

These officers started from Noakhali. Ibn Husain with the flotilla soon arrived at the creek of Khamaria, two stages from Chatgaon, and began to cut the jungle *before* towards Chatgaon and *behind* towards the advancing army. Farhad Khan, Mir Murtaza and other commanders of the land force too advanced cutting the jungle, and joined hands with Ibn Husain on 21st January, 1666. Buzurg Ummed Khan who was hastening clearing the jungle, arrived with the [main] army within three *kos* of Khamaria.

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FIRST NAVAL BATTLE, *23rd January.*

On the evening of 22nd January,* the scouts (*qarawwals*) of Ibn Husain brought news that the enemy's flotilla having come from Chatgaon was staying in the creek of Kathalia, six hours' journey from their place. Ibn Husain, after informing the Imperial and Nawwabi servants who were on board most of the ships, got ready for action. At night he sent a few ships to the mouth of the creek, telling the passengers to keep a good look out. Next morn, the scouts reported that the enemy's flotilla had started from Kathalia to fight the Imperial *nawwara* and might come immediately. Ibn Husain, after sending a man to inform Buzurg Ummed Khan of the matter, set out to meet the enemy, though the wind had freshened, and the sea was raging in billows threatening to sink the Imperial ships. Abul Qasim, who was in the ship of Muhammad Beg Abakash, narrates that when in this tempest he unmoored his ship to join Ibn Husain, one of the Turkish soldiers standing on the bank cried to M. Beg Abakash in Turki, "Are you mad, that you put your boat out during tempest in such a deep and terrible sea?" He replied, "Brother, if I were not mad, I should not have become a soldier!" Farhad Khan, Mir Murtaza, and Haiat Khan advanced by land to co-operate with the navy, following the road cleared by the men of the ships.

* Text gives the 24th, which is wrong. *Alamgirnamah*, p. 950, mentions the 23rd as the day of the *battle*.

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Beyond the clearing they could not go on account of the density of the jungle,

'Ten *ghurabs* and 45 *jalbas* of the enemy hove in sight and began to discharge their guns. Captain Moor and the other Feringis, who led the van, boldly steered their ships up to the enemy, Ibn Husain coming behind them. The enemy could not resist the onset; the men of their *ghurabs* jumped overboard, and the *jalbas* took to flight. Ibn Husain, seizing the *ghurabs*, wanted to pursue. But the Bengal sailors, who had never even seen in their minds the vision of a victory over the Magh fleet, objected, saying that that day's victory—the like of which even centenarians had not seen—ought to content them. Ibn Husain had to yield; but advancing a little from the spot where the *ghurabs* had been captured, he decided to stay there till evening and to return to the creek of Khamaria at night.

Suddenly two or three ships with flags (*bairaq*) were seen afar off. The Maghs, when they left the Kathalia creek that morning for fight and reached the creek of Hurla close to Khamaria, in their pride left their large ships—called *khalu* and *dhum*,—and [some] other ships here, and sent on only ten *ghurabs* and 45 *jalbas* as sufficient for [defeating and] capturing the Imperial flotilla. The two or three ships with flags now seen were among those *khalus* left in the creek.

Ibn Husain encouraged his crew, saying, "Now that the fugitive *jalbas* have joined their larger fleet, the enemy have surely been seized with terror. It

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behoves [us] as brave men not to give the enemy time, nor let the opportunity slip out of our grasp, but attack them in full reliance on God." These words had effect on the Bengal crew ; they agreed and started for Hurla. The enemy learning of it issued from the creek and stood at sea in line of battle. Ibu Husain arriving there found their line stronger than Alexander's rampart. He felt that to run his smaller ships against the [enemy's] larger ones,— whose many guns would, at every discharge, command [his ships],—was to court needless ruin, but that he ought to stop in front of the enemy, engage in firing,, and wait for the arrival of his larger ships (*salbs*,) when he would put the latter in front and attack the enemy. He therefore began firing his guns and sent a man to hurry up the *salbs*. These arrived at the time of the evening prayer. From that time to dawn, there was cannonade between the two sides. *

SECOND NAVAL ENCOUNTER, *24th January.*

Next morning, the Muslims flying their victorious banners, beating their drums, and sounding their bugles

* The *Alamgirnamah*,, p. 950, says :—"[After the first naval battle] the enemy fled. Ibn Husain with his light and swift ships gave chase and captured 10 *ghurabs* and three *halias* [=*jalbas*] from them. Soon afterwards, the larger ships (*nawwara-e-buzurg*) of the enemy came in sight, for a second time fought a long and severe fight, and at sunset fled from the scene of action. Ibn Husain pursued them, [p. 951] but as the enemy's ships entered the Karnafuli, and his own larger ships had not come up with him, he thought it inadvisable to advance, but withdrew his fleet to a suitable place, and passed the night in keeping watch.

When Buzurg Ummed Khan heard of it, he wrote strongly urging Farhad Khan and Mir Murtaza not to wait for clearing the jungle and making a road, but to hurry up and join hands with the *nawwara*. He himself gave up road-making and advanced quickly. Next day [24th January,] Farhad Khan arrived at the bank of the river [Karnafuli]. The enemy lost heart at the sight of the Islamic army."

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and trumpets, advanced towards the enemy firing guns and in this order: First the *salbs*, then the *ghurabs*, and last the *jalbas* and *kosas* side by side. The enemy lost all courage and firmness, and thought only of flying. They turned the heads of their larger ships away from the Imperialists, attached their *jalbas* to them, and began to tow back these big ships, fighting during their flight.

Ibn Husain without throwing away caution or making rash haste advanced in his previous formation. At last at about 3 P. M., the enemy entered the mouth of the Karnafuli, reached the island in mid stream in front of Chatgaon fort, and drew up their ships off the bank on which Chatgaon stood. The Imperial fleet too came to the Karnafuli and seized its mouth. On the [further] side of the Karnafuli, near the mouth and close to the village called Feringi-bandar, where the Feringi pirates had their houses, the enemy had built three bamboo stockades on the brink of the water, and filled them with artillery, many Telingas (as the fighting men of Arracan are called) and two elephants, in preparation for fight. When the Imperial flotilla entered the mouth of the Karnafuli, these forts opened fire on them with muskets and guns. Ibn Husain sent most of his ships up the river and many of the soldiers by the bank, and attacked them. After making some vain efforts the garrison of the stockades took to flight. The Mughals burned the forts and returned.

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ARRACAN NAVY ANNIHILATED.

Now with a strong heart and good hope, Ibn Husain dashed upon the enemy's ships. Captain Moor and other Feringi pirates, the Nawwab's officers [such as] Muhammad Beg Abakash and Munawwar Khan zamindar, came swiftly from different sides. A great fight was fought. Fire was opened [on the Mughals] from the fort of Chatgaon also. At last the breeze of victory blew on the banners of the Muslims. The enemy were vanquished; some of their sailors and soldiers jumped overboard; some remaining in their ships surrendered as prisoners. Most of the former carried off their lives, only some being drowned. Many were slain by the swords, arrows, and spears of the victors. A few, reaching the bank, carried the news to the fort. Many of the enemy's ships were sunk by the fire or ramming of the Mughal fleet; the rest, 135 ships, were captured by the Imperialists* and consisted of:—

Khalu ...	2	*Kosa* ...	12	
Ghurab ...	9	*Jalba* ...	67	[Should be 68]
Jangi ...	22	*Balam* ...	22	

Meantime, Buzurg Ummed Khan, hearing of the naval battle, hastened to the neighbourhood of Chatgaon. The *chawkidars* of the fort informed the

* The operations in the Karnafuli are thus described in the *Alamgirnamah*, p. 952:—"[On 24th January,] Ibn Husain with the Imperial fleet entered the Karnafuli river and attacked the enemy's fleet that had fled there. A second terrible battle was fought for two *prahars* of the day. At last the Imperialists gained the victory, and the enemy fled, many of them being killed, many others taken prisoner, many drowned after jumping over-board."

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garrison of the near approach of the Mughal army. This news and the spectacle of the victory of the Imperial fleet struck such terror into the hearts of the garrison and soldiers of the country, that in spite of their large number they fled.

NIGHT AFTER BATTLE.

That night* Ibn Husain, sending to the fort two trustworthy men out of those taken prisoner in the ships, wrote to the *qiladar* who represented the Rajah of Arracan, "Why should you needlessly destroy yourself and your family? Before you are forcibly seized and sacrificed to our swords, give up your fort, and save your life and property." The *qiladar*, feeling himself helpless and in need of protection, sent back the reply that he should be granted respite for the night and that next morning he would admit them.

* The *Alamgirnamah*, p. 951, says:—"After the victory the Imperial fleet halted in the Karnafuli below the fort of Chatgaon. Some of the Feringis of Chatgaon who had remained there, and many [p. 952] other Feringis who at this time had come from Arracan to aid them, interviewed Ibn Husain. Captain Moor, who accompanied the Imperial forces in this expedition, did excellent service. Next day [25th January,] Buzurg Ummed Khan arrived at the foot of the fort of Chatgaon with the rest of the army. The Imperial forces by land and sea encircled the fort. The garrison, after making great exertions, found that they could not resist the Mughal army, and at last sought safety. The second day of the siege, 26th January, 1666, the Imperial army gained possession of the fort, the whole province of Chatgaon, and the entire artillery and navy of the place.....[p. 953]. The Governor of Chatgaon, who was the son of the Arracan king's uncle, was taken prisoner with one son and some other relatives, and nearly 350 men of the tribe, 132 ships of war, 1,026 guns made of bronze and iron, many matchlocks and *zamburaks* (camel pieces), much shot and powder, other artillery materials, and three elephants, were captured. Large numbers of the peasants of Bengal who had been carried off and kept prisoner here, were now released from the Magh oppression and returned to their homes."

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CHATGAON FORT SURRENDERS.

In the morning of 26th January, 1666, which was the sunset of [the glory of] the Maghs, the commandant opened the fort gate and informed Ibn Husain, who started for the fort. But Munawwar Khan zamindar had entered it before him, and his companions had set fire to it. Ibn Husain entered soon afterwards, and tried his best to put out the fire, but in vain. The fire was so violent that he could not stay there, but came out bringing the *qiladar* away with himself.

When the fire went out, he again proceeded to the fort and attached the property. He sent the *qiladar* with the news of victory to the Nawwab at Dacca, and also informed Buzurg Ummed Khan of the happy event.

The Maghs who were in the fort on the other side of the river, fled, and that fort, too, fell into Mughal hands. The peasantry on the further side of the river, who were mostly Muslims kidnapped from Bengal, attacked the Maghs that fled yesterday and to-day, slew one of their leaders, captured two of their elephants, and brought them to Ibn Husain. Of the four elephants in the fort of Chatgaon, two were burned in the fire and two were secured by the Mughals.

REWARDS TO THE VICTORS.

On 29th January the news of the conquest reached Dacca. The Nawwab after thanking God, began to give to all the army liberal rewards consisting of

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robes, horses, and elephants, distributed alms to the poor, and ordered the music of joy to play. Wealth beyond measure was given to the Feringi pirates and one month's pay as bounty to his own officers and the crew of the *nawwara*.

That very day the Nawwab sent a despatch on the victory to the Emperor. When it arrived at Court,* the Emperor ordered joyous music to be played. Rewards were given to all concerned in the conquest: the Nawwab was presented with a costly jewelled sword of the Emperor, two elephants, two horses with gold trappings, a special *khilat*, and an Imperial *farman* of praise. Buzurg Ummed Khan, Farhad Khan, Mir Murtaza, Ibn Husain, and Muhammad Beg Abakash were promoted. Ibn Husain got the title of Mansur † Khan, and Mir Murtaza that of Mujahid Khan.

NEW GOVERNMENT OF CHATGAON.

On 27th January,‡ 1666, Buzurg Ummed Khan entered the fort of Chatgaon, reassured the people that their lives were safe, and firmly forbade his soldiers to oppress the people, in order to cause the place to be well-populated and prosperous.

[Here the Bodleian Ms. ends abruptly. I give the concluding portion of the campaign from the *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 953-956.]

* "At the end of Sh'aban [February 1666]" according to the *Alamgirnamah*, p. 956. "The Emperor ordered Chatgaon to be renamed Islamabad."

† *Muzaffar* according to the *Alamgirnamah*.

‡ The date is left blank in the Bodleian Ms. I have supplied it from the *Alamgirnamah*.

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Buzurg Ummed Khan stayed at Chatgaon for some time to settle its affairs. Miana Khan was sent to the north of Chatgaon to reassure the peasantry and to establish a *thanah*. Taj Miana, with his followers and 100 musketeers, was appointed as *thanahdar* and guard of the roads from Chatgaon to the bank of the Feni river.

RAMBU TAKEN AND ABANDONED.

The port of Rambu* is four days' journey from Chatgaon, and midway between Chatgaon and Arracan. A large body of the enemy defended its fort. Mir Murtaza was ordered to that direction, to win over the peasantry, learn all about the paths and ferries of that region, and, if he found it possible, to go to the place and besiege it. The Mir, after traversing difficult roads, dense jungles, and terrible rivers, at the end of 12 days arrived within one *kos* of Rambu. Next day, at morn he stormed the fort. The Arracan king's brother named Rawli, who held the government of the place, tried his best to oppose, but being worsted, he fled with the garrison to a jungle close to a hill near the fort. Mir Murtaza giving chase slew many of them and captured many others. Some of the enemy, who had taken refuge in the hill, came out to surrender, and were made prisoner. Many Muslim ryots of Bengal, who had been kept as captives here, were liberated and returned home.

Buzurg Ummed Khan hearing of the victory and learning that the king of Arracan was sending a force

* *Ramoo* in Rennell, Sheet 1.

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by land against Rambu, despatched Miana Khan, Jamal Khan Dilzaq, and many others to reinforce Mir Murtaza. The Mir, after his victory, had posted a company of musketeers on the bank of the river one and a half *kos* from Rambu, to keep watch for the enemy's arrival. One day a large force of the enemy with seven elephants suddenly issued from the jungle, fell upon the musketeers, and dispersed some of them. Mir Murtaza hearing of it, rode with a force to the bank of the river, and in spite of its water being deep and the enemy having begun to make entrenchments on the [other] bank, boldly plunged in with his comrades and crossed over in safety. The enemy, after a hard fight, fled. The victors pursued, slew and captured many of them, and seized 80 guns, many muskets, and other war material.

As the space between Chatgaon and Rambu is very hard to cross, full of hills and jungles, and intersected by one or two streams which cannot be crossed without boats, and as in the rainy season the whole path is flooded, and this year there was only a small store of provisions and the rainy season was near,—therefore the sending of the Mughal army into Arracan was put off. Buzurg Ummed Khan, in view of the roads being closed and re-inforcements and provisions being cut off by the rains, very wisely ordered Mir Murtaza to evacuate Rambu and fall back with the chiefs, zamindars, prisoners, and peasants of Rambu, on Dakhin-kol,* which is close to Chatgaon. He did so.

* *i. e.*, 'The southern bank of the river.'

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KHUDA BAKHSH, THE INDIAN BODLEY.

LIFE AND CHARACTER.

KHAN Bahadur Khuda Bakhsh, C.I.E., was born at Chapra in North Bihar, on Tuesday, 2nd August, 1842, (23rd Jamadi-us-sani, 1258 of the Hijera era). His family was distinguished for scholarship if not for wealth, and one of his clansmen, Qazi Haibatullah, took part in compiling the Institutes of Aurangzib (*Fatawa-i-Alamgiri.*) Muhammad Bakhsh, the father of our hero, was a lawyer at Bankipur. Though not a rich man, he had a passion for Persian and Arabic books and succeeded in adding 1200 manuscripts to the 300 which he had received by inheritance. On his death-bed he charged young Khuda Bakhsh to complete the collection in every branch of Oriental learning and build a library-hall for the use of the public. The family was then in hard straits; there was no patrimony for Khuda Bakhsh, and the future seemed cheerless. But without a moment's hesitation or fear, he accepted his father's command, and right nobly did he fulfil it. The 1500 volumes left behind by Muhammad Bakhsh have now increased to about 5000, and their value in 1891, when they numbered only 3,000, was estimated by an expert under Sir Alfred Croft at two and a half lakhs of Rupees (£16, 666). An English collection, worth nearly a lakh of Rupees, has been added; and the whole has been housed in a splendid edifice costing Rs. 80,000.

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All these represent the life's work of one man, Khuda Bakhsh.

Young Khuda Bakhsh read in Calcutta for some time under the care of Nawab Amir Ali Khan Bahadur, a pleader of the Sadar court, who helped to maintain the English administration at Patna during the Mutiny. Bad news from home recalled the young student to Bankipur; his father was stricken with palsy, unable to earn anything, and the family was in great distress. Khuda Bakhsh was called upon to support them. He applied for a *Naib*-ship under a *Munsif*, but without success. Appointed *Peshkar* of the District Judge, he soon disagreed with his chief, Mr. Latour, and resigned. We next see him serving as a Deputy Inspector of Schools for 15 months. But in January, 1868, he passed the Higher grade Pleadership examination held at Patna, threw up his post, joined the local bar at the age of 25, and followed a career of striking brilliancy and success from the outset. On the very day that he began his practice, he signed 101 *wakalat-namahs*. Of no other lawyer has such phenomenal success been recorded.

His memory was wonderful; and numerous as his cases were, he required only a rapid view to master his briefs. Sir Louis Jackson, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, while on a visit to Patna was struck by Khuda Bakhsh's advocacy, and was pleased to learn that he was the son of Muhammad Bakhsh whom he had known well during his District Judgeship

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of Patna. Sir Louis visited the bed-ridden Muhammad Bakhsh and offered Khuda Bakhsh a Sub-Judgeship with hopes of promotion to the Statutory Civil Service. But he had a roaring practice and declined to enter the public service.

Public honours, however, came thick upon him. Like a true citizen he cheerfully gave his time freely to many a public cause. For his work on the School Committee he got a Certificate of Honour at the Delhi Darbar of 1877. He was the first Vice-chairman of the Patna Municipality and of the Patna District Board, when these self-governing bodies were created by Lord Ripon. His forensic ability found recognition in his appointment as Government Pleader; and he received the highest honour of his profession when, in 1894, he was appointed Chief Justice of the High Court of the Nizam. A Khan Bahadurship was conferred on him in January, 1883, and a C.I.E. in 1903. He was also a Fellow of the Calcutta University.

Returning from Haidarabad in 1898, he again joined the Bankipur bar. But his health was already on the decline, and the toils of his profession were too much for him. Latterly his mental powers gave way, and finally at 1 P.M., August 3rd, 1908, he breathed his last, after having completed his 66th year the day before. His younger brother, Mr. Abul Hassan, Bar-at-law, was for some time Chief Judge of the Calcutta Small Cause Court. Of Khuda Bakhsh's sons, the eldest, Mr. Salih-ud-din, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxford), Bar-at-law, has already

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made his mark as an Orientalist; the second, Mr. Shihabuddin, is a Deputy Superintendent of police and possesses a rare knowledge of Persian Mss; the third died in early youth; and the fourth is now at college.

HIS SCHOLARSHIP.

Khuda Bakhsh was one of the greatest authorities on Islamic bibliography. An article from his pen on this subject appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*. But it represents only a small part of his knowledge. I remember how one day he poured out of the copious store of his memory, a full list of Arabic biographers and critics from the first century of the Hijera to the eighth, with running comments on the value of each. Most of their works he had himself collected. But alas! Arabic has long been a dead language in India. He also compiled a descriptive catalogue of many of his manuscripts, (the *Mahbub-ul-albab*, written in Persian and lithographed at Haidarabad in 1314 A.H.) Next to the acquisition of a rare Ms. what gave him most delight was to see anybody using his library in carrying on research.

THE LIBRARY BUILDINGS

Khuda Bakhsh had promised to his dying father to erect a house for the library, but the way in which he carried out his promise must have delighted Muhammad Bakhsh's soul in Paradise. This middle-class lawyer,—there are two or three such men in many District Courts of Bengal,—spent Rs. 80,000 on the library buildings.

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It is a two-storied structure with a spacious hall and two side-rooms on the first floor and a wide shady verandah going all around it. The two staircases, the west verandahs and most of the lower rooms are paved with marble or stone mosaics; in the other verandahs and rooms the floor is covered with encaustic tiles. The whole library with its buildings and grounds was made over to the public by a trust-deed, on 29th October 1891, one of the conditions being that the Mss. should not be removed from Patna. The donor in his unselfishness did not even give his own name to his gift, but called it the Oriental Public Library. The public, however, do not accept this self-effacement, and the Khuda Bakhsh Library is the only name by which it is known in India.

HIS DEVOTION TO THE LIBRARY.

But Khuda Bakhsh's devotion to the library is not to be measured by the money he spent on it, practically all his earnings. His whole heart was set on it. The library was the subject of his thoughts in waking and sleep alike. His very dreams centred round it. Two of them are here given from his narration; "At first Mss. came in very slowly. But one night a stranger came to me in my dream and said, 'If you want books, come with me?' I followed him to a grand building like the Lucknow Imambara, and waited at the gate while my guide entered it. After a while he came out, and took me inside to a vast hall in which a veiled

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being sat surrounded by his friends. My guide said, 'This man has come for the manuscripts.' The veiled one replied, 'Let them be given to him.' Shortly after this, Mss. began to pour into my library from various places." (This was a vision of the Prophet Muhammad and his *Ashab* or companions.)

"One night I dreamt that the lane near the library was filled with a dense crowd of people. When I came out of my house, they cried out, 'The Prophet is on a visit to your library, and you are not there to show him round!' I hastened to the manuscript-room, and found him gone. But there were two manuscripts of the *Hadis* (Traditions) lying open on the table. These, the people said, had been read by the Prophet." [Both these volumes now contain a note by Khuda Bakhsh, stating that they are never to be allowed to go out of the library; but no reason is given for the prohibition.]

So keen was his love for the library that in his last year, when age had brought in its train a weakening of the intellect, he constantly thought of it and conjured up imaginary dangers to it. The position of every book in it was fixed in his memory. Only two days before his death he accurately described the case and shelf in which a copy of Abu Daud's work is kept.

I can still picture to my eyes the venerable founder as he sat near the library porch, his *huqqa* resting on a tripod, his grey hair and beard and plain white dress

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conspicuous from a distance. There were usually one or two visitors with him, or he was sedately turning over the leaves of some manuscript.

THE NATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF HIS LIBRARY.

He is buried in the place which he loved so well, and to which he gave his all. A low unpretentious tomb, between the library buildings and the reading room, marks the last resting-place of the greatest benefactor and first citizen of Patna, a man sprung from the middle class who has left the country richer by a treasure surpassing the gifts of princes and millionaires. He was the Indian Bodley, and unborn generations of Indian scholars and readers will bless his memory and say that he was rightly named *Khuda Bakhsh*, 'the gift of God.'

For, the value of his gift and its full significance in the growth of our nation will be realised more and more as time passes. At present the Indian Orientalists are a small body, and few of them have taken to Persian, almost none to Arabic. A European scholar, after inspecting this library and noticing its lack of readers, remarked to Khuda Bakhsh, "What a fine cemetery for books have you built! In Europe such a library would have been daily thronged with a hundred students busy in research; but I see none such here." But it will not be so with us for ever; already a new era of research has dawned among us. In the meantime the Khuda Bakhsh Library forms a nucleus round which

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Indian manuscripts are gathering, sometimes by purchase, but mainly by gift. A most admirable feature of the European character is that wherever they go they collect Mss., antiques, and specimens for presentation to their national museums. In the Bodleian, the British Museum, and the Indian Office Library, there are many precious Oriental Mss. bearing the signature of historical Anglo-Indians of the 18th century,—Kirkpatrick, Gladwin, Fitzpatrick, Jonathan Scott, etc. Even in those early days of British power, while they were conquering and settling the land, they eagerly hunted for Mss. and bequeathed them to their country's use. Many rare and even unique works have thus disappeared from India, and now adorn the libraries of European capitals. European *savants* use them; to the Indian scholar, unless he is rich enough to visit Europe, they are sealed books. The Khuda Bakhsh Library, by offering a well-known and secure home for books and ensuring their public use, is tempting private owners all over India to send their collections to it and thus save them from being dispersed or lost to the country. This has been strikingly seen in some recent valuable gifts of Persian Mss. to this library by generous Muhammadan gentlemen. Jahangir's book of fortune-telling, *i.e.*, a copy of Hafiz's *Odes*, which he used to open at random to learn the future, (just as they took *sortes* from Virgil's poems in mediæval Europe),—has been presented by M. Subhanullah Khan of Gorakhpur.

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It contains marginal notes in the Emperor's own hand, stating when and with what result he consulted his oracle. Then again, Secretary Inayetullah Khan's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, giving the Emperor Aurangzib's letters in his last years and graphically describing the break-down of the Imperial authority, was formerly known by name only; no public library in Europe or India had a copy of it. In October 1907 I discovered an old Padshahi Mss. of it in the Rampur (Rohilkhand) State Library and got the Nawab's kind permission to take a copy of it. On my return to Bankipur, what was my surprise and pleasure to see that another Mss. of it, (once belonging to some noble of the Court, and supplying many differences of reading),—had been shortly before presented to the O.P.L. by Safdar Nawab! These are only two examples out of many which show how this library has been the means of keeping in our land India's literary treasures.

ITS PAINTINGS AND SPECIMENS OF CALIGRAPHY.

The specimens of Eastern painting,—Chinese, Central Asian, Persian and Indian,—collected here are invaluable to the student of Oriental Art, and have gained the warmest praise from a critic of Mr. Havell's ability. Many of them are illuminations of manuscripts from the Mughal Imperial library, some from Ranjit Singh's collection, most others from the picture-albums of the nobles of the Courts of Delhi and Lucknow, or scrap-books completed piecemeal after years of waiting and

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search by the untiring and single-minded founder. Most of the portraits of bygone celebrities are unique. The very papers on which the manuscripts are written are of such varied description and represent so many countries and periods of the paper-making art, that a special treatise may be written on them. The finest and most numerous specimens of Persian penmanship are to be found here, of any country in Asia.

ITS ENGLISH BOOKS.

Great as are the value and celebrity of its Persian and Arabic manuscripts, its English books are of no mean importance even by their side. There are standard works on every subject,—poetry, philosophy, history, fiction, essays, etc.—and costly and very complete collections of dictionaries, English translations of Oriental works, and rare books on Indian history. Alibone's *Dictionary of English Literature* (with the supplement), the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols., the *Sacred Books of the East*, Burton's *Arabian Nights*, and many other works are to be found here only in all Bihar. There is a set of the very first edition of the *Waverley Novels*. Admirers of Scott will be delighted to see the once famous small volumes, printed at Edinburgh by Scott's friend and ruinator Ballantyne, and bearing on the title-page the words "By the author of Waverley" and not Scott's name,—for he was still the "Great Unknown," "the Wizard of the North."

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Of the illustrated English books the total price runs up to several thousands of Rupees. There are Griffiths's *Ajanta Caves*, Maisey's *Sanchi*, Cunningham's *Bharhut*, Fergusson and Taylor's *Bijapur* and *Dharwar and Mysore*, Finden's *Byron* and many more. Khuda Bakhsh purchased an entire library in England by auction for £4,000 (Rs. 60,000). Hence the beautiful leather binding of most of his English volumes.

THE ROMANCE OF HIS BOOK COLLECTION.

There are many romances connected with the history and growth of the library. The most precious Mss. in India were undoubtedly those of the Mughal library of Delhi. Thither, through the 16th and 17th centuries, came all rare and fine examples of caligraphy and illumination in the East. Some were purchased, others were executed by artists retained in the Imperial service, some were secured by conquest (as of Haidarabad and Bijapur in Aurangzib's reign), and many by the confiscation of the goods of great nobles on their death. Thus was formed the largest library in the East in that period ; for, while Central Asia, Persia and Arabia were torn by incessant war, India enjoyed peace under the Great Mughals. In the 18th century many of these Mss. found their way to the library of the Nawabs of Oudh. But the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 brought about the fall of Delhi and Lucknow. The Imperial and Nawabi treasures were dispersed. The Nawab of Rampur (Rohilkhand), who had joined the English, got the best of the

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loot, as he had proclaimed among the victorious loyal sepoys that he would pay one rupee for every Mss. brought to him. Khuda Bakhsh began his collection much later; but there was the greatest rivalry between him and the Nawab. At last Khuda Bakhsh won over from the Nawab's side that jewel of a book-hunter, an Arab named Muhammad Makki, paid him a regular salary of Rs. 50 a month (besides commission) for 18 years, and employed him in searching for rare Mss. (mostly Arabic) in Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Persia, (specially at Beirut and Cairo). It was Khuda Bakhsh's invariable practice to pay the double railway fare to every manuscript-seller who visited Bankipur, whether he bought anything from him or not. Thus his fame spread throughout India, and he was given the first choice of every Mss. on sale in any part of the country.

Curiously enough, one year the library was broken into by a former book-binder and some of the best Mss. stolen. The thief sent them for sale to a broker or merchant at Lahore, and the latter unsuspectingly offered them to Khuda Bakhsh as the likeliest person to buy them. So, in the end the honest man came by his own and the thief was punished.

In another case divine justice asserted itself by a similar roundabout process. Mr. J. B. Eliot, Provincial Judge of Patna, (a great Mss.-collector and donor to the Bodleian), borrowed a unique Mss. of the Odes of Kamaluddin Ismail Isfahani from Muhammad Bakhsh and afterwards refused to return it, offering a large price

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for it. The owner indignantly declined the proposal, but held his peace. When Mr. Eliot retired, he packed his choicest Mss. in some cases and shipped them to England, while his worthless books were put in another case and left at Patna to be sold by auction. But by the irony of fate or of the hand of God,call it what you will,—not only the extorted volume of Odes but some other rare Mss. (such as the *Majalis-i-Khamsa* bearing Shah Jahan's autograph), had got into the wrong case, and Muhammad Bakhsh bought them! On reaching England Mr. Eliot discovered his mistake, but only to fret and fume in vain.

One day when Khuda Bakhsh was driving back from the High Court at Haidarabad, his eyes, ever on the look out for Mss., discovered a bundle of volumes on a sack of flour in a grocer's shop. He stopped, turned the books over, and asked about the price. The owner shrewdly answered, "To any other man I should have sold this heap of old and rotten papers for Rs. 3. But as your lordship is interested in them, they must contain something of value. I want Rs. 20 for them." A true guess, for along with some worthless things the bundle contained an old work on Arabic bibliography not to be found elsewhere. Immediately after Khuda Bakhsh's purchase, Rs. 400 were offered for it by the Nizam, but in vain.

ITS TREASURES.

One of his literary treasures, Jahangir's Book of Fate, has been already described. Another is an autograph

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copy of the *Shahanshah-namah*, an epic poem celebrating the victories of Sultan Muhammad II (the conqueror of Constantinople in 1453), written by the author in 1594 and presented to Sultan Muhammad III. Many bold and striking battle-pieces illuminate the volume, which reached India in Shah Jahan's reign, and either that Emperor or some later owner paid Rs. 750 for it. Jami's poem *Yusuf wa Zulaikha*, copied by the greatest of Persian caligraphists, Mir Ali, for which Jahangir paid 1,000 gold mohars, now adorns this library. There are two of Shah Jahan's Commonplace Books, one of them containing his signature at the age of 14,—Dara Shukoh's autograph copy of his work, the Lives of Saints (*Safinat-ul-awliya*,),—the *Odes* of Hafiz belonging to the king of Golkonda and brought away to Delhi as a spoil of war,—Amir Khasru's *Masnavi* copied for Sultan Abdul Aziz of Bukhara by Nur Ali (who was kept in confinement for 3 years to finish it,)—Ranjit Singh's military account-book, with entries in Persian and Gurmukhi,—the richly illuminated copy of Firdausi's *Shahnamah* which Ali Mardan Khan presented to Shah Jahan at his first audience (1640),—the works of Khasru containing the seal of Akbar's mother Hamida Banu Begam,—Hatifi's romance *Shirin wa Khasru* written for Ibrahim Adil Shah, king of Bijapur, in a fine small hand, and Jahangir's *Autobiography* presented by himself to the king of Golkonda and brought back by Aurangzib's son after the conquest of that kingdom. Among the

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best illuminated Mss are (1) a *History of Timur's dynasty* down to the 22nd year of Akbar's reign, rich in pictures, some of which have been reproduced but very imperfectly in Mrs. Beveridge's *Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam*, (2) the *Padishahnamah* or History of Shah Jahan with illustrations of the finest execution, detail and ornamentation, and (3) a *History of India* written for Ranjit Singh.. Most sacred in the eyes of Persian students is the first half of Mulla Jami's autograph works, of which the second half is in the St. Petersburg Imperial library. The gifted poet's signature and handwriting agree exactly with those reproduced in the St. Petersburg Catalogue from the last page of his second volume.

Among the Arabic works, we have the *Tafsir-i-kabir*, three gigantic volumes written in an uniformly small, fine and distinct hand. It is a monument of incredible human patience and industry. There is a very old Ms. on botany, the *Kitab-ul-Hashaish* (full of coloured illustrations), translated from the Greek of Dioscorides into Arabic by Stephen, the son of Basil, (who died in 240 A. H.), in the reign of the Khalif Mamun. Another equally old Ms. is an Arabic treatise on surgical instruments (all illustrated), composed by Zahrabi in Granada. Another volume of Zahrabi's works bears traces of fire on many pages. Could it have been a survival from the Moorish library burnt by Ximenes? There is a piece of parchment with Cufic characters ascribed to Ali's hand! Another wonder is a

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complete *Quran* on a single fine film-like parchment roll of great length, written in a minute but distinct hand. A second copy of the *Quran* belongs to the age before diacritical marks came into use in writing Arabic.

A historic curiosity of great interest is the "Story of Christ" (*Dastan-i-Masih*), translated from the Bible into Persian at Akbar's request by the Portuguese missionary Geronimo Xavier. This copy was transcribed by Abdur Razzaq Qandahari in 1013 A.H. (1604 A.D.).

In short, if I go on describing the riches of the Khuda Bakhsh library I shall never end. He who would know them should see them. In January 1903, Lord Curzon, fresh from the Delhi Darbar and with his head full of visions of Mughal grandeur, hummed when he entered this library,—

> '*Agar firdaus bar ru-i-zamin ast*
> *Hamin ast, wa hamin ast, wa hamin ast.*
> If there be no earth an elysium of bliss,
> It is this, it is this, and Oh! it is this.'

That is the best description of it to a scholar.

*** All the essays in this volume were first printed in the *Modern Review*, with the exception of the *Feringi Pirates* and the *Conquest of Chatgaon* which appeared in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and *who built the Taj?* which appeared in the *Hindustan Review*.

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